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DISQUISITIONS.

DISQUISITIONS,

BY

FRANK SAYERS, M. D.

We are not magisterial in opinions, nor have we, Dictator-like, obtruded our conceptions; but in the humility of Enquiries or Disquisitions, have only proposed them to more ocular discerners.

SIR THOMAS BROWN.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Norwich:

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1808.

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T. F. MIDDLETON, A. M.

(Rector of Tansor, Northamptonshire, &c.)

MY DEAR SIR,

Having greatly to regret your removal to a situation, in which our accustomed intercourse will be much interrupted, I embrace, with satisfaction, the opportunity that occurs at our parting, of inscribing to you the following DISQUISITIONS; *for I cannot but be persuaded, that you will receive, with some complacence, even this inadequate expression of my lively, and, I am*

sure I may add, my lasting remembrance of the unremitted kindness, that I have long experienced in your family, and of the many pleasant and profitable hours, which I have enjoyed in your society.

I remain, with the most earnest wishes for your future prosperity,

Your very cordial and faithful friend,

F. SAYERS.

Norwich, March, 1808.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Volume contains, with the exception of a single Disquisition, two little works, the one of which was printed (in 1793) with the title "Disquisitions Metaphysical and Literary," and the other (in 1805) with the title "Miscellanies Antiquarian and Historical."

The Essays, thus republished, have been carefully corrected, and some of them are much enlarged.

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DISQUISITIONS

METAPHYSICAL, &c.

——— *quid tandem sit, quod metaphysicæ relinquatur? Certe ultra naturam nihil, sed ipsius naturæ pars multo præstantissima.*

LORD BACON.

OF BEAUTY.

OF BEAUTY.

AMONG the variety of objects which occasionally attract our notice, it is not difficult to distinguish several classes, from the contemplation of which peculiar sensations of pleasure are generally experienced: the emotions produced by a view of one of these classes, the beautiful, although very impressive, have something in them of a gentle and soothing kind; those excited by another class are of a more elevating nature; at the same time that they delight, they also expand and exalt the mind, and have hence been denominated sublime; the agreeable feelings arising from a third class, the pathetic, are blended in some degree with emotions of pain, while the sensations which are derived

from a fourth, the humorous or ridiculous, are connected with merriment or laughter.

The following enquiry will be confined to investigating the pleasure produced by objects of the *beautiful* kind only; a similar explanation might probably be extended to the rest.

Lest such an enquiry however should appear to some unnecessary, it will not be improper previously to state such objections as seem of the greatest force, against those theories of beauty which have been most recently offered to the public.

An artist of great eminence* has taught, that the line of beauty is a *curve of a peculiar shape*, and that objects deviate from beauty in proportion as they deviate from such a curve. A slight consideration will convince us that this standard, however it may apply in some cases, is far from being universal; many figures bounded by strait lines, as a square, an isosceles triangle, a pyramid, a cube, are usually esteemed beautiful: in buildings also sharp angles must necessarily abound; and strait pillars, far from deforming a building, produce a more pleasing effect than curved ones; for if curved

* Hogarth.

pillars appeared to support any considerable weight, they would instantly give us an idea of their bending under the weight, that is of weakness, and such an idea would infallibly disgust; this theory then cannot be insisted upon.

Lord Kaims supposes beauty to consist chiefly in *simplicity*; to this it may be objected that a man, a ship, a Corinthian capital, variegated flowers, and many other figures of a complex kind are notwithstanding beautiful; this explanation of beauty is therefore insufficient.

It has been asserted by another writer that an union of several qualities in objects produces beauty; let us examine some of those which he supposes to be essential. *Littleness:* to this it may be replied that we annex beauty to the form of an angel, yet an angel is deemed of larger size than a man; that the Laocoon and the Apollo of Belvedere, two of the most beautiful and perfect pieces of sculpture which Europe possesses, are both larger than life; the property of littleness*

* Aristotle pronounces the opposite quality to this to be essential to beauty. "το γαρ καλον, εν μεγεθει και ταξει εστι· διο ουτε παμμικρον αν τι γενοιτο καλον ζωον." Poetic. 7.

therefore is not necessary to beauty :—*Smoothness :* against this may be urged the beauty of many hirsute and prickly shrubs ; in goats and sheep also, animals exceedingly beautiful and picturesque, we meet with shaggy rough coats : —*Gradual variation of lines :* to this it may be objected, that flat surfaces are decidedly beautiful in a variety of situations, and that a building or apartment in which we could discover only curved or varying lines would be perfectly ridiculous :—*Delicacy :* neither can this be granted essential, as it would discard beauty from the stronger species of animals, from a nervous human figure, and from all buildings for defence. For the force of these objections, which appear sufficient to invalidate the theory of this author*, an appeal may be hazarded to common experience.

" Largeness," however, is not retained in the definition of beauty by Cicero. " Corporis est quædam apta figura membrorum, cum coloris quadem suavitate ; eaque dicitur Pulchritudo."

Tusc. Disp. IV. xiii.

* In offering these remarks upon one of the early productions of Mr. Burke, I trust that I shall not be suspected of feeling a less profound reverence than I ought to feel, for the irresistible eloquence, the immense attainments, and the prophetic penetration of that most extraordinary man.

Utility has been thought by some to be a quality that enters into every thing which is beautiful ;† but this also may be readily shewn to be fallacious. The appearance of manly strength in a female would not be deemed an addition to her beauty, yet such strength might occasionally be useful; all orders of architecture, if equally strong and convenient, must, if this theory be true, be also equally beautiful ; a graceful dancer, who is exercising a faculty perfectly useless, is regarded with great pleasure, but a person feeding voraciously, though employing powers absolutely necessary to existence, is an object rather disgusting than beautiful.

It was the opinion of Sir Joshua Reynolds that a kind of *central set of features*, that is, a set of features composed of those most commonly to be met with, and a central form also, would constitute beauty in the human race : to this it may be objected, that the greater number of countenances and forms which we meet with, are neither strikingly beautiful nor ugly, how then should features

† This doctrine, indeed, is merely revived ; as a discussion of it will be found in the Hippias Major of Plato.

which are most common, and a form about the medium of those we most frequently see, united in one person, be able to assume the character of perfect beauty? If this explanation be admitted, it would follow, that in any class of animals of which the individuals most resemble each other, there would beauty be most generally diffused, and most peculiarly striking; this however is certainly not the case: it may be added too, that at the first view of any race of men or animals, whose appearance is not agreeable to us, when their general features or forms are principally noticed, at that very time we view them with the least pleasure; the first sight of the blacks in the West Indies is far from being pleasant to Europeans; by dwelling among them for a time, many are at length discovered to be beautiful; yet the common form strikes first, and the individual differences afterwards.

Enough has probably been urged to shew that none of the abovementioned theories of beauty is universally applicable: I will now enter upon that which appears to me less liable to objection.

It will readily be granted that those objects

which we are accustomed to call beautiful, make a pleasing impression upon the mind; but the mere pleasure of simple perception seems by no means to account for the great degree of enjoyment which the contemplation of certain objects produces; for however the palate may be gratified by particular dishes, the eye by a peculiar tint, or the sense of smelling by odoriferous substances, yet it is certain that the view of a beautiful object occasions in us much more exquisite feelings of pleasure than the most delicious food, the most brilliant colour, or the most grateful perfume: we must therefore seek for some other cause of this peculiar sensation of delight; this cause will be found in the association of ideas: with the forms which we esteem beautiful, it will appear *that certain pleasing ideas or emotions are associated in our mind*, which, upon the presentation of such forms, regularly arise, and produce those sensations which we attribute to the beauty of the object. The power then, which an object possesses, of exciting pleasing ideas or emotions associated with it, is what determines us to ascribe to it beauty.*

* The first hint of the theory which I have here stated is to be found in "Hartley, On Man," Sect. IV. c. i.

Many proofs of this opinion may be advanced; there is none stronger perhaps than the effect of these associated ideas in changing an object which is at first horrible or disgusting to one of a contrary nature; a slight view of the bowels in the dead carcases of men, or other animals, fills us with the utmost disgust; yet in the mind of the anatomist, who has investigated the provident arrangement and well-ordered machinery of these important parts, they are so strongly associated with the ideas of wisdom and utility, that they are converted into a beautiful and pleasing object of contemplation.

The inconstancy of our opinions with respect to the beauty or ugliness of certain habits is an argument of a similar kind: with fashionable dresses are associated the pleasing ideas of rank, of wealth, of gentility; and such dresses are therefore generally esteemed beautiful while they continue to be worn by the higher orders of society; but as soon as they have crept among the lower, the ideas associated with them are changed for others of a displeasing kind; vulgarity, poverty, and paltry imitation of our superiors, are now connected with the once fashionable habit, and the same form of

dress which a few months before was deemed to be beautiful and becoming, is now an object of ridicule or dislike: scarcely is a year or two elapsed before these odious fashions are again perhaps adopted by the higher orders of society, and again received and admired.*

* See Alison's "Essays on Taste."

After the public had so long possessed those very luminous and convincing illustrations of an interesting part of Hartley's doctrines, I learnt, with some wonder, that a late publication on the same subject,* by Mr. Payne Knight, had been received with much approbation. The "Sceptical View," which forms the opening of that work, excited in me a lively curiosity; for I expected to have found it succeeded by a judicious and systematical attack upon the most prevailing theories of Taste and Beauty, and by the offer of some safer clue to guide us through the maze of our *αλυτοι απορίαι*: my expectations however were not gratified; for in the mass of amusing, though not altogether novel observations, of which Mr. Knight's production is chiefly composed, I could detect only an occasional acceptance, or rejection, of some of the philosophical principles, which had been previously advanced on the topic of which he treats. I was particularly anxious to consider the reasoning which had deterred him from adopting the theory of Hartley; but instead of the objections that I looked for, I found, with much satisfaction, the following expressions: "As *all* the pleasures of intellect arise from the association of ideas, the more the materials of association

* Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste.

The ideas associated with fashionable dress have so strong an influence on the minds of many, and

tion are multiplied, the more will the sphere of these pleasures be enlarged. To a mind richly stored, *almost every* object of nature and art that presents itself, either excites fresh trains and combinations of ideas, or vivifies and strengthens those that existed before." (p. 143. Edit. 2d.) "We shall find that much of the pleasure which we receive from painting, sculpture, music, poetry, &c. arises from our associating *other ideas* with those immediately excited by them." (p. 145). From these, and several other passages equally decisive (p. 170, 178, 194, 196, &c.), I was induced to hope that Mr. Knight might finally become a complete convert to a doctrine which he found himself so frequently under the necessity of adopting:† but in p. 172, he has again recourse to the theory of "fitness and proportion," in p. 205 he expresses great

† After observing this repeated use of Hartley's Theory (although, if I be not greatly deceived, the name of that writer is unaccountably omitted in "the Principles of Taste,") I was somewhat surprised to find the strictures on Mr. Alison's work, which occur in a note to p. 302. Nothing, however, in these strictures appears to demand from me any remarks, except perhaps the contempt implied by Mr. Knight, for the notion of associating sublimity with the forms of instruments of destruction, such as artillery, swords, spears, &c. but as that gentleman himself readily admits the connection of a variety of interesting ideas with *artificial* objects, I am at a loss to account for the difficulty which he feels on this occasion. Against the validity of his criticism, however, I think an appeal may be safely made to experience; and with respect to the sword in particular, although indeed ideas only of terror, of heroism, and of glory, are now associated with it, yet Mr. Knight will well recollect that it was at one time regarded both by our ancestors, and by the nations of the North as an object of *religious veneration*.

"Swear upon my Sword." Hamlet.

seem so closely connected with the persons of those who wear it, that the feelings of inconvenience are not unfrequently found to bend before its charms: in a neighbouring nation the Spring habit was regularly assumed at a certain season of the

great faith in the efficacy of "sympathy," and in short, he extends throughout his whole work, a partial and, as it seems to me, a very incongruous application of many of those explanations of beauty, which I imagined, from his introduction, he deemed to be of no avail. "Itaque non metuit ne confundere omnia videatur & incerta reddere: sed in incertis nihil est probabile: in quibus autem est, in his non deerit sapienti quid respondeat."

This vague and eclectic mode of philosophising can afford but little conviction; it is certainly calculated to thwart, rather than to forward, an enquiry which was proceeding favourably, though slowly; and I fear that it is hardly atoned for even by the learning and information which are so abundantly displayed in the performance of which I have been speaking.

I cannot conclude this note without indulging myself in the melancholy pleasure of recording, that my belief in the theory of beauty, which I have been disposed to defend, was greatly strengthened by many acute and solid observations that were urged to me in its favour, by the late Mr. Opie: the authority of an artist of such eminence,‡ and of a man of such extraordinary judgment and sagacity, cannot fail of producing, on this subject, as much effect as any authority is capable of producing.

‡ Ζωγραφος εστιν αριστος, ὃς εν πινακεσσι χαρασσει,
Μορφας ατρεκεας, εμπνοα δερκομενας.

Gregor. Nazianz.

year, and no inclemency of weather was sufficient to outweigh, in the minds of the fashionable, the captivating ideas of rank and breeding.

The opinion which parents so commonly entertain of the beauty of their own offspring, who appear to others perhaps objects of dislike, or at least of indifference, is another argument in favour of this theory; the parents having a variety of pleasing ideas associated with their own children which take place only in their minds.

The lover is much in the same situation with the parent: associating with the person of his mistress qualities which are peculiarly pleasing to him, he lavishes upon her form every attraction, and she appears to him perfect: to another, who has never discovered in her these qualities so pleasing to her admirer, her shape and countenance are perhaps totally uninteresting.

The effects of the unpleasing passions of hatred, revenge, and envy, in changing our opinion of personal charms, are too well known to be dwelt upon: our great dramatic poet has addressed even the innocent messenger of misfortune with

"This news has made thee a most ugly man."

Pain and bodily infirmities also, if great, render us often incapable of relishing or even of perceiving beauty: a mind vacant from all ideas unfavourable to pleasing impressions, is absolutely necessary to our feeling them in their full force.

It may further be observed, in confirmation of this theory of beauty, that the most consummate form and features of the female of the human race, would be highly unpleasing in the male; the ideas of tenderness, mildness, and modesty, associated with the countenance of a beautiful female, and those of softness and delicacy, connected with her frame, however delightful as the properties of a woman, by no means form the beauty of a man.

The shape and features of a very beautiful European woman are far from being peculiarly pleasing to an American savage: he has been accustomed to associate with the form and countenance of his swarthy females the qualities which are most agreeable to him; and these qualities of course never arise in his mind so readily as when he contemplates those forms, and countenances, and complexions, to which he is accustomed.

In short, the well-known variety of effect, pro-

duced upon different persons by the *same* object, is only to be explained by considering the different ideas with which this object is associated in their several minds; were there any thing *specific* in the object itself, all must and would be similarly affected by it.

These arguments seem sufficient to prove that beauty is not inherent in forms, features, or complexions, but depends entirely upon the ideas associated with them.

The theory which I have now been enforcing, holds good with respect to the beauties of the vegetable world, and to the various scenes of inanimate nature; the primrose and the snowdrop are indebted for their peculiar charms to the exhilarating ideas of the Spring, so strongly connected with them: with the rose is associated the gayest efforts of the lyric muse; with the myrtle, the charms of Venus and the sports of the Loves; and with the laurel, the triumphs of arts and of arms: hence the beauty so generally acknowledged in these classes of vegetables.

The beauty of landscapes arises from the ideas of peace, of health, of rural happiness, of pleas-

ing solitude, of simple manners, of classical imagery, &c. connected with the groupes of trees, with the lawns, and fields, and water which enter into their composition; of this I think every one will be convinced, from observing the various, but equally pleasant ideas, associated with the scenes of nature in the mind of Milton, and which he has so admirably assorted and connected with these scenes as viewed by the gay, or melancholy man.

When the poet describes the landscape as beautiful to the cheerful mind, he associates with it the sprightly notes of the lark, the hounds and horn, the rising sun, the song of the shepherd, the frolics of the rustic labourer, and his simple, but joyous repast; the sound of the merry bells, and the dances of the youths and maids on a sunshine holiday. When a similar scene of nature is to be made beautiful to the pensive mind, he pitches upon another class of associations, the plaintive notes of the nightingale, the gloom of moon-light, the sound of the distant curfew

Over some wide-water'd shore
Swinging slow with sullen roar,

the rushing blast and its hollow murmur, the shades

of the grove, strange mysterious music, the unseen Genius of the wood.

It is obvious that in both these cases the beauty of the scenes of nature depends entirely upon the circumstances associated with them, and that it was even necessary for the poet to associate different circumstances with them as they were to be rendered pleasing to the gay, or to the pensive man; the ideas which made them beautiful to the former, would have made them disgusting to the latter.

It is also sufficiently evident, that we determine concerning the productions of the imitative arts of painting and sculpture by the same principles which regulate our decision with respect to the forms which they imitate; but to the usual set of pleasant ideas associated with the imitated object, there is another, of a most delightful kind, added, when the objects are well represented; that of the genius and skill of the artist: this idea is so exceedingly grateful, that it not unfrequently induces us to ascribe great beauty to the imitation of objects disgusting in themselves.*

* This is remarkably the case in our admiration of some Dutch pieces.

Our judgment too with respect to the beauty, or ugliness, of the works of the architect, is similarly directed; the ideas of warmth, of coolness, of convenience, of strength, of magnificence, of skill, and others of a pleasing kind, more or less associated with buildings, are what determine us to pronounce them beautiful, in different degrees: among the structures which are most universally pleasing to Europeans, may be reckoned the Grecian temple and the Gothic church; with the former we have associated the song of the poet, the classical tales of Grecian mythology, the finished forms of Grecian gods; with the latter are strongly connected the impressive solemnities of devotion, and the wild, but captivating stories of Gothic heroism and Gothic magnificence,

> Of turneys and of trophies hung,
> Of pomp, and feast, and revelry,
> With masque and antique pageantry,
> Where throngs of knights and barons bold
> In weeds of peace high triumphs hold,
> With store of ladies, whose bright eyes
> Rain influence, and judge the prize
> Of wit or arms—

It may be observed too that in large orna-

mental buildings, which are not Gothic, we are only pleased with the orders of Grecian architecture; with these orders the agreeable ideas above-mentioned are associated, and any other form of building, as some of the whimsical orders delineated by Hogarth, has either some ridiculous or unpleasing association with it, or is at least unconnected with any which is delightful; hence then we may reasonably conclude that the ideas which induce us to call a building beautiful, are merely associated, as in other instances, with peculiar forms.*

Nor do we decide on different principles with regard to the beauty of the various productions of the mechanic; with these the pleasing ideas of human ingenuity, of utility, of splendor, of elegance, of neatness, &c. are more or less associated and determine our judgments concerning them.

* By critics in architecture indeed a certain fixed proportion of pillars, &c. is expected, as it is with these proportions *exactly* that *their* pleasing ideas are most numerously and strongly associated: those who have not been in the habit of attending so nicely to the parts of a building are satisfied with that general appearance in its architecture with which *their* pleasing ideas are associated, any little irregularity in proportion does not give to them an idea of imperfection as it does to the critic.

The same theory of beauty is also applicable to poetry: it is scarcely necessary to observe, that the beauty of a poem depends upon the pleasing ideas or emotions produced by the various expressions that are used in it; but the principle of association goes so far that it is by no means unfrequent to find passages in our best English poets by which no clear or connected ideas are raised, or in which ideas even repugnant to sense or propriety, are to be detected, but which, notwithstanding, merely from agreeable associations with the words, are generally received as beautiful; of this a variety of examples might be adduced; I shall produce a few.

And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud.

LYCIDAS.

This line is usually esteemed beautiful: it is a bold figure to bid peace to a shroud, but to bid fair peace be to a black shroud (a thing which never yet existed perhaps) is perfectly absurd: but the word sable excites a melancholy idea suited to the occasion, and therefore the line has been approved.

——— and tresses like the morn.

COMUS.

This passage is always read with pleasure, but

what clear idea of the colour or shape of these tresses can be formed from our being told that they are like the morn?* Yet the morn is a word with which a variety of pleasant ideas are associated, and therefore it produces the emotion of beauty.

> Weave the warp and weave the woof,
> The winding sheet of Edward's race,
> Give ample room and verge enough
> The characters of hell to trace.
>
> GRAY'S BARD.

These lines so generally deemed beautiful, or perhaps rather sublime, are open to many objections: they allude to a part of *Gothic* mythology, with which a *Welsh* or *Celtic* bard could scarcely be acquainted, and certainly did not believe: they arbitrarily disfigure the part of mythology hinted at, they give to the *ghosts of the bards* the employment of the Gothic Fates, they direct these ghosts to weave a winding sheet, whereas the web of life was what the Fates always wove: they order

* Possibly, however, Milton meant by "*like* the morn," "*such as* the morn (or Aurora) was supposed to have," or "like the morn's;" but this sense is not generally perceived by the reader.

the bards to leave room to trace the characters of hell: if the poet means by characters of hell "bitter runes" as the Goths called them, setting out wrong indeed, he proceeds rightly; if by the characters, are meant the dispositions of hell, how can guilt, horror, pain, &c. be wrought in a loom? It reminds us of Anacreon, who sportively directs the painter (if possible) to paint the hair of his mistress breathing odours; but the words "winding sheet" and "characters of hell" excite ideas of horror, and we are satisfied without enquiring whether these words are introduced with propriety.

Another example of glaring breach of costume in this justly celebrated piece is

> Rob'd in the sable garb of woe,
> With haggard eyes the poet stood.

To this the writer was tempted by our associations of grief with sable; it is well known, however, that the Welch bards never wore garments of that colour.

Many other examples might be brought forward from different authors, but these are sufficient to explain my meaning.*

* I am far from intending to defend this practice in poets because

It may be observed, too, that poets have occasionally endeavoured to imitate, by words, the sounds which they were describing in their verse; this increase of associated ideas adds much to the beauty of the passage; thus Tasso describing the sound of the trumpet has

Al rauco suon della tartarea tromba.

Homer, speaking of the dashing of the stormy wave, uses the words

Αιγιαλῳ μεγαλῳ βρεμεται, σμαραγειδε τε ποντος.

And Collins, describing the bat, has

With short shrill shriek flits by on leathern wing.

Let us now apply this theory to music; it appears that those who are unskilled in the art, are chiefly pleased with simple expressive tunes, or with such as have ideas either of gaiety, solemnity, or pleasing melancholy, associated with them; those on the other hand who are adepts in music, are also delighted with more complicated pieces; with these they have associated the ideas of diffi-

cause it has in many cases succeeded: when the passages are considered, and their impropriety detected, the idea of imperfection or absurdity is joined with them, and they are no longer beautiful.

culty overcome, of a kind of social concord of parts, and of nicety of execution: the effect of association in music is decisively ascertained by the wonderful pleasure which individuals receive from particular tunes (heard by others with indifference) which are associated in their minds with scenes, or with company, which highly delighted them: the predilection which almost every nation has for its own music is another proof of the opinion I have been supporting; it is well known that a certain tune, by no means pleasing in general, was forbidden to be played among the Swiss guards in the French King's service, the tune was one which is exceedingly popular in the Swiss cantons, and which was so strongly connected in the minds of the Swiss with the pleasures of their early youth and early habitation, that it produced emotions almost insupportable.

The cooing of doves, the bleating of sheep, and the lowing of kine, can only afford pleasure from exciting the pleasing ideas of rural scenery; what can render the sameness of the cuckoo's note so grateful, but its connection with the spring, and the opening beauties of nature?

The emotions, again, produced by the beating of a drum, a noise easily mistaken for the rattling of a cart, or the rolling of an empty barrel, is a very strong proof of the power of association in giving effect to sounds.*

After this general application of the theory, I may now venture upon offering a few remarks on the *standard of beauty*.

From a consideration of the foregoing reasoning, there is little room to expect that an universal standard can be decidedly fixed upon, as an object of general reference; yet something may be done in this way, and I think there is reason to conclude that our opinions of beauty are not so incapable of a rational defence, or attack, as has been generally supposed.

There appear to be certain excellencies which belong to each of the different classes of objects presented to us: such excellencies are more or less associated with the forms, &c. of those objects; and by comparing the individuals of each class with one another, we are able to discover with what forms these excellencies are more or less asso-

* See Alison's Essays on Taste.

ciated, and also which of the individuals partakes the most of that form with which the greatest number of the excellencies of its species are associated.

Among other excellencies of the male part of the human race, may be reckoned understanding, courage, good-temper, grace, activity, and strength of body; now we find by a frequent comparison of the faces and characters of men, that an open countenance and penetrating eye, are *most commonly* united with talents and good-temper, and such a countenance of course excites, from association, ideas of these pleasing endowments. A dull and heavy eye, on the other hand, and a contracted brow, we find often connected with a slowness of intellect, and a harshness of temper:* upon the slightest view therefore of such countenances, we should instantly pronounce the former beautiful, and the latter ugly: a variety of faces are indeed daily presented to us in which our decision, with regard to their beauty or ugliness, is not so easy; all our judgments, however, are determined by

* I do not mean that this is *always* the case: many exceptions are to be met with: but it is sufficiently general to form the association.

the various degrees of mental excellencies, or defects associated with them; nor can we wonder that on this subject a frequent difference of opinion should arise, when the expression of the face is not decidedly marked; some must unavoidably associate with it, from various circumstances peculiar perhaps to themselves, more or fewer excellencies or defects than others; but whenever the expression is strongly marked, I have seldom been able to detect much difference in opinions. With regard to the body, we observe that a great bulk of muscles and fat is moved often with difficulty, and never with activity; on the other hand, that a spare and diminutive form, however active it may be, gives us no idea of strength, or of grace; but on the contrary, that we connect with it weakness and delicacy, which are disgusting in a man: as therefore with too great a bulk of body is connected clumsiness and sluggishness, and with too small a bulk of body, a want of strength and of dignity, we pitch upon a certain mean between the two, with which we associate all the excellencies of the human form in man, and which we therefore denominate beautiful.

The same mode of reasoning may be applied to other classes of animals, as to horses for instance: with the form of a race horse we connect swiftness, with that of a cart-horse strength, these horses have each one excellence of the species associated with their form; but a fine Arabian courser, with whose form is associated both swiftness and strength, will universally be esteemed more beautiful than either of the other two, in each of which there is a want of one great excellence of the species.

In the same manner from the comparison of landscapes, pictures, statues, buildings, &c. we shall be able to discover which has the more numerous ideas of the excellencies of their class associated with them.

In this way too we may arrive at some notion of the *ideal beauty* so much talked of by artists: from the contemplation of different individuals of a class, certain forms, features, &c. may be detected with which the excellencies of the species are usually associated, and these being *all blended together* into one piece, may reach the highest perfection in their kind of which we have any idea. Phidias,

says Cicero, formed his Minerva from the idea of beauty which he had in his own mind, and not from any particular object. The Farnesian Hercules, the Borghese Mercury, and the Antinous of the Vatican are each beautiful; with the form of the first is connected strength, with that of the second activity, with that of the third grace; which of the three is most beautiful it is difficult to determine; they each want the excellencies in some degree of the other two: but do we hesitate to decide that the Vatican Apollo, with whose form strength, and activity, and grace, are all associated, is more beautiful than any of them? Surely not; this statue is, I believe, universally admitted by Europeans to be their best standard of male beauty.

Hence then it follows, that the individual of a class of objects is *justly* to be esteemed more beautiful than the rest, with the whole of which, or with its component parts (when properly understood) the *greater number* of the excellencies of its class are universally associated; the same may be asserted of any species of objects when compared with any other species of its kind, and that object may be justly esteemed a *standard of beauty*

with the whole appearance, or with the component parts of which (when properly understood), *all* the excellencies of its kind are *universally* associated.

But I am afraid that an insurmountable obstacle exists to an agreement upon any universal standard of beauty, though what that standard would be were perfectly understood; I mean, the variety of natural and artificial forms among different nations, each of which has associated for the most part with the forms it is accustomed to see, the excellencies of its peculiar class. If with some all female perfections are associated with dark complexions, thick lips, snub noses, and woolly hair, and with others they are connected with flowing tresses, vermeil-tinctured cheeks, and skin of snowy white, it is impossible to reconcile their differences, each nation must and will consider that object as most beautiful, with which it has been accustomed to associate all, or most of the excellencies that such an object is capable of possessing.

OF THE DRAMATIC UNITIES.

IT has been remarked by Dryden that the dramatic unities, although they have been generally observed by the Greek tragedians, are no where regularly enumerated and enforced by the ancient critics; and (with the exception of the unity of action*) the remark is just. Instances too may be

* Aristotle has clearly recommended an attention to the unity of *action*, and accurately defined it; χρη ουν, says he, Poetic 8, καθαπερ εν ταις αλλαις μιμητικαις ἡ μια μιμησις ἑνος εστιν, ἁτω και τον μυθον, επει πραξεως μιμησις εστι, μιας τε ειναι, και ταυτης ὁλης, κ. τ. λ. With respect to the unity of *time*, the same author marking the criteria which distinguish tragedy from epic poetry (Poet. 5), says of the former, ἡ μεν, ὁτι μαλιστα πειρᾶται ὑπο

adduced, from the works of these tragedians of the violation of each of the unities; thus in the Agamemnon of Æschylus we discover a deviation from the unity of time; in the Ajax of Sophocles, a deviation from the unity of place; and in the Antigone of the same author, even the unity of action itself has not been observed; but whatever may have been the more general opinion and practice of the ancients, the moderns have undoubtedly produced theatrical compositions highly interesting and affecting, in which the unities have been totally neglected: let us endeavour then to ascertain how far these regulations may be adhered to, or violated, with advantage.

As the grand rule by which every dramatic poet should be guided in the composition of his work, is that of *preserving the probable*, and as nothing

ὑπο μιαν περιοδον ἡλιϰ ειναι, η μικρον εξαλλατειν—but he thus merely states the usual practice of the tragic writers, and is not to be understood to recommend it; for, on the contrary, he afterwards seems to allow much greater limits of dramatic action than one revolution of the sun. ὁ δε ϰαθ' αυτην says he (7.) την φυσιν τϰ πραγματος ὁρος, αιει μεν ὁ μειζων, μεχρι τϰ συνδηλος ειναι, ϰαλλιων εστι ϰατα το μεγεθος.

I find no notice of the unity of *place*.

is to be admitted which opposes this rule, the best mode of determining upon the propriety of adhering to the unities, will be to examine each of them with a reference to this standard.

First, as to the unity of *Time*. This unity has been arbitrarily fixed to twenty four hours; had its bounds been rationally decided, they would certainly have been limited to the time which the piece takes up in performing; any thing beyond this must be supplied by the imagination of the audience; but this appeared too severe a rule, and something is accordingly left for the imagination to supply: but if the common length of a dramatic piece, when exhibited, is three hours, who is able to decide that twenty-one hours besides may be passed over in the imagination, and neither more nor less? How arbitrary and absurd is such a determination. But even the preservation of this unity, as thus understood, not unfrequently forces the poet to a palpable violation of the probable: the crouding together of unmotived and unlikely events commonly occurs in those modern pieces in which every thing is arranged to take place in twenty-four hours; as in Cato, and Venice Pre-

served; in the most perfect plays of antiquity also, the preservation of the unity of time has not failed to produce the same improbability; in the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, the arrival of the messenger who brings an account of the death of Polybius, palpably occurs at that very moment in which the message that he brings is peculiarly important; in the Medea of Euripides also Ægeus is introduced at the latter end of the play merely because Medea, at that time, stands in need of a protector; and in the Hippolytus of the same author, as well as in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, we find a variety of important incidents improbably compressed into the space of twenty-four hours.

The period of one day is seldom long enough to produce the great resolves, or evolutions of character, which are absolutely required in dramatic compositions: is it probable that the mind can be so affected by the occurrences of a few hours that it should *immediately* determine on many, nay perhaps on one important action? Before decisive steps are resolved upon, much time is spent in self-contemplation, or in consulting others; then to effect these resolves opportunity must be awaited; but if

this unity is to be preserved, how often will it happen that the progress of various feelings, the slow resolves of a mind hesitating on a most important concern, and a forced concurrence of circumstances, must all be hastened into the compass of twenty-four hours? The gradual change of Macbeth's character could never have taken place in such a time; nor could scarcely the violent temper of Othello have been worked upon, in so short a space, to destroy a wife whom he doated on, and who was before unsuspected.

Another observation may be made on this subject; few of the hearers of a piece *accurately* compute the time which is supposed to elapse in its progress, and the beauty of this unity therefore is entirely unknown to the audience; they seem merely to measure the time which passes while action is absolutely carrying on before them, and leave that between the acts to be lengthened, or shortened, at the pleasure of the poet; thus if a messenger be dispatched only two miles at the beginning of an act, and returns before it is over, the audience are struck with the improbability of it; but if he sets out upon a journey of twenty

miles, and returns at the beginning of the next act, they feel no difficulty in imagining a time sufficient for the journey to have elapsed.

But it may be asked has the poet then an unbounded privilege in respect to the violation of the unity of time? Certainly not; he must keep within the limits of probability; and I think on this account the following rules should be attended to.

First, the appearance of the characters should never be so altered by time, supposed to be elapsed, that the audience should not immediately recognise them; thus Macbeth, fighting in the fifth act with Macduff, is well known from his appearance to be the same who killed Duncan in the first act: some time must have elapsed between these events; we may reasonably conclude more than a twelvemonth; but his person is still unaltered; if on the other hand thirty years had been supposed to have passed, and Macbeth came decrepid and hoary upon the stage, we should feel great difficulty in imagining him to be a character whom we had seen before. The length of time supposed to elapse in the Winter's Tale is attended with the disagreeable effect which I am mentioning; in the beginning of the

piece, Perdita is shewn to the audience as an infant, and at the end of it she is married to Florizel.

The next rule is, that so much time should never be supposed to elapse as would alter the disposition of the persons of the play in such a manner as to render the conclusion of the fable improbable; all violent passions, and those are chiefly the passions of tragedy, are greatly weakened by time; at least this is usually the case: if a person, for instance, who had just resolved to stab his enemy, should be transported to a distant country for ten years and then be brought back, is it probable that his resentment would not be abated, or that his resolution would not be changed?

And lastly, the poet should never force his audience to conceive any character so long absent, that more must have been transacted during his absence than really takes place in the piece: in this case the audience have to imagine two different periods of time to elapse at once: I will give an instance of what I mean: the son of Polonius, in Hamlet, sets out upon his travels at the beginning of the play, and, after making a tour of considerable length, returns a finished gentleman at the

end of it; this is disgusting to us; a few weeks is the utmost time which we suppose to pass in this piece, and is it probable that a person should travel through Europe in that period?

With some limitations, we may therefore conclude that this unity may be violated with advantage.

Secondly, as to the unity of *Place*. A strict preservance of this unity is often attended, like that of the other, with a breach of probability; poets are tempted by it to force their characters into a spot in which there is no other reason for their assembling but the rule laid down; Dennis has very justly ridiculed the adherence to this unity in the tragedy of Cato; but even in the play which is esteemed a perfect model, the same improbability occurs; in the Œdipus Tyrannus, the scene is laid in the market-place before a temple; to this place then all the characters are forced, and publicly debate about their most important concerns, either in the presence of the priests or the chorus of citizens: but is it probable that this spot should be fixed upon by Œdipus as the proper place for an enquiry so interesting to him? When the business is entirely of a public nature, as at the opening of

the piece, there is some excuse for it, but after he begins to suspect that a terrible evil is threatening him, is it likely that he would receive the proofs, which condemn him, exposed to the insults or revenge of a suffering people? In the Œdipus Coloneus also a striking breach of probability arises from a preservation of this unity; the scene of the play is part of the grove of the furies and the ground adjoining to it; in this spot all the characters of the piece assemble, and all the conversations pass, yet the chorus declare at the opening of the play, that they fear to discourse when near the sacred wood, and scarcely dare even to cast their eyes upon it.

Indeed it is at first sight exceedingly improbable that many actions, and particularly important ones, should all be transacted in one place.

Dr. Johnson, in his preface to Shakspeare, has observed that it is as easy to fancy ourselves in any given place at the beginning of an act, as at the beginning of a play: this observation appears to me not strictly true: we have the remembrance in our minds of being in a certain place before the second act, and we have associated the place we

were in before with the characters which were represented to us, so that it is not equally easy to fancy ourselves in a new place, particularly at a great distance from the former one. There seems to be more difficulty in acquiescing in a change of place than in the passing of time; but then the difficulty only arises in changes to places very distant from each other, while the mind feels no repugnance to passing from one place to another which is near; thus the transition of the scene, in Macbeth, from Scotland to England, is very offensive; but the change from the outside to the inside of the castle, is followed with the greatest ease, particularly when assisted with a change of paintings on the stage; when Iachimo passes from Italy to England, we have some difficulty in believing him to be the same person that we lately saw so many miles distant, but when we see him pass from the drawing-room to a chamber in the same palace, we feel no impediment to such a change of place: it seems therefore that this unity, though it may be violated with the greatest probability in a small degree, cannot be so safely broken in upon with boldness as that of time.

It is always preferable in cases of change of place to a great distance, that they should happen between the acts; the reason for this is evident from what I said on the preceding unity; a considerable time must be imagined to have passed before such a change could be effected.

Thirdly, as to unity of *Action*, it may be observed, that provided the underplots have an evident connection with the grand catastrophe of the play, they may be introduced with the greatest probability, and are so far proper; but when this is not the case, the mixture is certainly injudicious: in the Midsummer Night's Dream, the remarkable absurdity and want of connection in the underplot, or rather underplots, is very striking; but in the Tempest, where they are evidently promoting the great business of the piece, or are at least probably connected with it, they are seen with pleasure: upon this ground, it may be said, that scenes of gaiety may be introduced into a tragic piece; they may so; the gay and the sorrowful often appear together in nature, and therefore they may upon the stage; but it is not by every dramatist that this mixture should be attempted; the effects produced by gay scenes certainly indispose the mind for

again assuming the tone of grief, and none but the hand of a consummate master can lead us at pleasure through the most contrary passions.

Another reason for the violation of this unity, in the degree I have mentioned, is, that we find in nature that many agents are usually employed to produce great events, and that some of these agents are forwarding it without design, and while pursuing a plan entirely with a different view; thus ambition may be made the tool of revenge, and love the tool of ambition.

A strict preservation of this unity would entirely exclude a set of plays which are highly pleasing both in the closet and on the stage, I mean historical plays, and such as are directed to the evolution of some character: in most of these plays, I think, the unity of action may be considered as sufficiently preserved, provided all the events have some probable influence on the character brought forward, and are made to center in it as to their ultimate effects: this is the case in King John and King Richard the Third, where most, if not all of the occurrences are connected with some material changes in the fortunes of these kings.

It may be here urged that I have hitherto taken

probability as my guide, and that it is certainly probable that two or more plots may be carrying on at the same time and place, which have no connection with each other: this is undoubtedly true; but though a preservation of the probable is absolutely necessary to dramatic perfection, it does not follow that *all* which is probable is therefore prudently to be introduced; the poet must always keep in mind the interesting of his audience; if the attention be divided by many unconnected parts, no one will deeply engross it, no one will make a due impression upon it, and the effect of the whole piece will be weakened.

It appears then from the foregoing observations, that the unities can most usually be violated, to a certain degree, with more probability than they can be preserved; had a strict adherence to them been universally deemed essential to dramatic excellence, they would have forced great improbability into the fables of the poet, or they would have totally deprived us of many performances which are at once probable, interesting, and instructive.

OF PERCEPTION.



IT is an opinion very generally admitted that the mind is capable of perceiving more than one idea at the same instant of time; many, I believe, consider this opinion as proveable by actual experiment; and metaphysicians, in treating of complex ideas, have usually taken it for granted: it does not appear indeed to be of much importance to us whether ideas are presented to the mind synchronously, or whether the one succeeds to the other without any perceptible interval of time; but as a matter of curiosity, a few observations on this subject may not be thought uninteresting.

If we reflect upon the surprising velocity with which ideas pass through the mind, and the re-

markable rapidity with which the mind turns itself, or is directed, from one object of contemplation to another, this might alone give us some suspicion that we may probably be mistaken in supposing ideas to be synchronously perceived.

Other arguments may be adduced to strengthen this suspicion: it will be granted, I believe, that the mind, whether immaterial, or the result of organization, has certainly a wholeness or unity belonging to it, and that it is either not composed of parts, or that no one of the parts from which it originates is, by itself, mind; in this case it is difficult to conceive how two ideas should be impressed upon the mind at the same instant, for this would be supposing that part of the mind could receive one idea, and part another, at the same time; but if the parts do not perceive singly, this is evidently impossible: if on the other hand this self-division of the mind does not take place, then, if two ideas are nevertheless to be perceived at the same instant, it would seem that these ideas must be so blended with each other that neither of them could appear distinct.

If we examine the manner in which a complex

idea is perceived, I think we shall find very clearly that the whole of such an idea is never present to the mind at once: in thinking of a centaur, for instance, can we at the same moment be thinking of the parts of a man and the parts of a horse? Can we not almost detect the gliding of the mind from the one to the other? In contemplating the complex idea, gold, are the ideas of its colour, ductility, hardness, and weight, all present to the mind at the same instant? I think if we accurately attend to it, we shall find a perceptible time has elapsed before this complex idea has been perfectly formed in our mind: but if all the parts of a complex idea cannot be recalled at the same instant, is it not reasonable to infer that these parts were also singly impressed, and not all originally perceived at the same instant? Nay, we know from actual experience that this is usually the case.

Whether these considerations alone should induce us to mistrust the opinion of our perceiving many ideas synchronously, may be still a matter of doubt: it is not difficult to prove, what tends to corroborate them strongly, that a certain degree of attention of the mind is absolutely necessary to the perception of any ideas at all.

If any one will make the experiment of talking on one subject while he is thinking on another, he will find it impossible, without evidently perceiving himself to falter with respect to one of the subjects, or to forget it altogether for a moment; and his conversation, while he is speaking on a subject different from that on which he is thinking, will certainly be broken and confused: absence of mind, as it is called, is another proof that a person cannot attend to two trains of thought at the same time; the person whose thoughts are engaged with something different from the conversation before him, will be often found to be ignorant of all that has passed; and the time at which his absence forsakes him, and at which he turns his attention to the conversation which the company are carrying on, may not unfrequently be detected.

It is a well-known fact that people deeply engaged on any particular subject, either in reading or in conversation, hear not the noises which would at another time affect them.

Those that have long dwelt in a situation exposed to the noise of bells, or to that occasioned by workmen at their business, at length are unconscious of the noise of the bells, or of the work-

men ; this must be entirely owing to a want of attention, for when they are told of the noise, they listen and hear it immediately.

When the mind is deeply engaged in thought, a degree of cold, which would else have been undoubtedly felt, has scarcely been at all perceived ; for no attention of the mind was directed to it ; as soon as the investigation is finished, or interrupted, the cold becomes immediately perceptible, for the mind is at leisure to attend to it.

It is an aphorism of Hippocrates, and I believe a very just one, that of two concomitant pains, the greater obscures, or relieves, the less : this seems to depend upon a similar cause to that of the facts just mentioned : the mind is so occupied with the greater pain, as not to attend to and feel the less : but when the greater is removed, the less is then perceived.

But not only will one pain by this means prevent the attention to, and consequent perception of another, but pleasure also will for a while prevent the feeling of pain : it is a common practice to attempt to divert the attention of those in pain

from the pain to something agreeable; this is frequently done with success: and in proportion as the mind of such people is occupied by that which is interesting and pleasant, they become less conscious of suffering.

At the performance of a surgical operation, a spectator, who is unused to such sights, feels a considerable degree of uneasiness and disgust, whereas the attention of him, who is operating, is so totally engaged with the business he is performing, and with the manner in which he is to execute it, that every feeling of pain or disgust is by him unattended to, and consequently felt very slightly, or perhaps not at all.

In cursorily examining any object whatsoever, many parts are not perceived by the mind, though actually presented to the sight; but if these parts which have escaped notice, are pointed out as worthy of examination, or if the attention of the mind be in any way called to them, they are immediately perceived: this frequently happens to us in viewing buildings: and, for the same reason, the idea of the external shape of the human body is

much more complete in the mind of the painter, or anatomist, than in that of persons who have less studied its conformation.

It is a fact well ascertained, that those who walk in their sleep usually do it with their eyes open and fixed, but, if a candle or light be presented to them, they shew no appearance of perceiving it; this is probably caused by the attention of the mind being otherwise engaged.

These arguments, and others of a similar kind might be adduced, seem to prove that a certain attention, or direction of the mind to the object before it, is absolutely necessary to the perception of that object; and if even the simple ideas of pain, sound, and light, cannot be perceived without this attention, it surely follows that it is equally requisite for the perception of other simple ideas; this attention of course then must be transferred, however rapidly, at each perception; and such a transfer of attention must occupy some time, though it may be generally imperceptible: hence then the opinion is much strengthened, that more than one

idea cannot be perceived by the mind at the same instant of time.*

* Lest it should appear that what I have advanced above, is unfavourable to the theory of Association, which I have adopted in a former Essay, and shall have recourse to in a subsequent one, I would observe that Dr. Hartley (vol. I. c. i. prop. 10) admits of *both synchronous and successive* association; the opinion I have defended is certainly incompatible with the former of these; but without affecting the *consequences* of association, it only simplifies the *mode* in which it is produced.

OF DISINTERESTED PASSIONS.

IT will be readily allowed by every one, that, among the various passions which are to be found in the human mind, we meet with a certain class which prompt us to promote the happiness of others, and which are completely gratified by the production of such happiness, whether arising from exertions which they themselves occasion, or from any other causes whatsoever. Instances of the violence of these affections are not unfrequently to be met with; the parent may be seen to sacrifice his comfort, or even his life, for a darling child; the wife for her husband; the lover for his mistress; and the patriot for his country: history affords indubitable testimony of such exertions,

and we cannot ourselves be utter strangers to them in some degree or other.

These passions, having apparently for their sole aim the happiness of others, are named *disinterested;* let us endeavour to investigate their origin.

It will not be improper previously to point out the formation of those other passions which are evidently selfish.

When an infant is first born, there is every reason to suppose that he is born without ideas: they are rapidly communicated, through the medium of the senses, by various appearances around him, and by various occurrences which happen to him: the same senses are also the means of conveying to him pleasure and pain; these are the hinges on which the passions turn; and till the child is acquainted with these sensations, it would appear that no passion could be formed in his mind; for till he has felt pleasure and pain, how can he desire any object, or wish for its removal? How can he either love or hate? Let us observe then the manner in which love and hatred are formed, for on these passions depend all the rest: when a child endures pain, and is able to detect the cause of it,

the idea of pain is connected in his mind with that of the thing which produced it; and if the object which occasioned pain be again presented to the child, the idea of pain, associated with it, arises also; this idea consequently urges the child to avoid or to remove the object, and thus arises the passion of dislike or hatred.

In the same manner the passion of liking or love is readily formed in the mind of a child, from the association of pleasant ideas with certain objects which produced them; and when these objects are presented to him, the associated pleasure arises in the mind with them, and prompts the child to pursue or to retain the agreeable object; this is the passion of love.

The passions hope and fear, are states of the mind depending upon the good or bad prospect of gratifying love or hatred; and joy or sorrow arises according to the final success, or disappointment, which attend the exertions produced by love or by hatred: out of these passions, which have all a perceptible relation to our own good, and are universally acknowledged to be selfish, all our other passions are formed.

The appearance then of a set of passions whose object seems to be the good of *others* and not our own, may be considered as an anomaly in the human mind: some philosophers have imagined that they must of course be innate; but our other passions are evidently not innate; they depend upon pleasure and pain, and these are not experienced till we come into the world: this hypothesis then is perfectly unsatisfactory, and totally contradicts all that we know of the nature of the human mind: the following explanation of their origin is therefore more to be relied upon.

In the history of the human mind we find many instances of our dropping an intermediate idea, which has been the means of our connecting two other ideas together: thus in learning the Greek language through the medium of the Latin, we at length cease to interpose a Latin word between the Greek ones, and the English signification of them, and we associate Greek words immediately with English ones; *finally*, we even cease to interpose the English words also, and associate ideas directly with the Greek words themselves: thus, also, in studying mathematics, we have no association of

truth with a proposition when first presented to us, but after we have gone through the proofs and forgotten them again entirely, the association of truth, so connected with the proposition, will still remain with it, when at any future time it is offered to our mind.

Another clear example of a similar kind is to be seen in the love of money, or avarice: money is at first desirable, or beloved, as actually affording a variety of comforts; pleasant ideas are thus connected with it: but in due time the link which has joined them together is forgotten, though the idea of pleasure still remains connected with money; then money is sought for and loved, for the sake of the pleasant ideas associated with it, without any farther enjoyment of it whatever; the *greatest* lovers of money never spend it, but always accumulate; the possession of it being the only gratification which they aim at; but it is plain that this would never have happened, unless there had been originally some tie by which they connected agreeable ideas with money, though the tie is at length forgotten:* for let us suppose there was

* See Gay's Preliminary Discourse to King's Origin of Evil.

a country in which gold and silver, from their abundance, were of no value at all, and where all trade was carried on by barter, in such a country, no one would seek to accumulate money, for he could never have any means of associating with it pleasant ideas, and avarice would of course have for its object the accumulation of something else.

To apply what has been said to the disinterested passions: let us suppose that any individual has done to us many offices of kindness, and has consequently much contributed to our happiness; it is natural for us to seek with some anxiety for the continuance of those pleasures which he is able to communicate: but we soon discern that the surest way of obtaining this continuance of his friendly offices is to make them, as much as possible, a source of pleasure to himself; we therefore do every thing in our power to promote his happiness in return for the good he has conferred upon us, that thus we may attach him to us as much as we are able: hitherto all is plainly selfish; we have been evidently endeavouring for the sake of our own future gratification, to promote the happiness of

this person; but observe the consequence: we have thus, by contemplating the advantage to be derived to ourselves from promoting the prosperity of our friend, learned to associate a set of pleasant ideas with his happiness; but the link which has united them gradually escapes us, while the union itself remains; continuing to associate pleasure with the well-being of our friend, we endeavour to promote it for the sake of this *immediate* gratification, without looking farther; and in this way, his happiness, which was at first attended to only as a means of future enjoyment, finally becomes an end; thus then the passion which was originally selfish, is at length *disinterested*, its gratification being completed merely by its success in promoting the happiness of another: it is easy to observe also that from associating pleasure with the happiness of an individual when we procure it ourselves, that it must of course soon follow, that we should experience pleasure from a view of his happiness any way produced; such happiness raising at all times pleasant ideas when it is presented to our minds: this is another feature of a disinterested

affection, to feel delight from the mere increase of happiness in the object whom we love.*

The origin of patriotism may be similarly traced: the pleasures which our country affords us are numerous, and powerful in their action; the wish to perpetuate the enjoyment of these pleasures includes the wish to promote the safety and welfare of our country, without which many of them would be interrupted or lost; all this is evidently selfish; but, as in the former case, it finally becomes disinterested: pleasant ideas are thus strongly connected with the welfare of our country; but the tie which has bound them together at length escapes our notice; the prosperity which was at first desirable as a means of future enjoyment, be-

* It may be here objected perhaps that parents seem to have an *instinctive disinterested love of their offspring:* surely the love of a parent for a new born infant is not usually equal to that for a child of four or five years old; when a child is first born, the prospect and hopes of future pleasure from it are sufficient to make a parent anxious for its preservation, and common humanity towards a helpless object, would also operate in the care of it: as the child grows up, the hope of future enjoyment from it must increase; hence would pleasure be associated with the well-being of the child; and in due time the love for the child would consequently become disinterested.

comes itself an end: we feel a delight in such prosperity, however produced, and we look not beyond this immediate delight.

In the same way may we account for the formation of that Esprit de Corps which has in many cases prompted to considerable exertions, without any view of other gratification, than the success of these exertions. When we become a member of a particular profession, we wish to promote the interest of that profession, with a view at first to be ourselves benefited by its prosperity; this is the means of associating pleasure with the welfare of our profession; in due time this tie is forgotten, and the passion becomes disinterested, having for its sole object the pleasure derived from the welfare of the class of men to which we belong.

It is again not difficult to observe in what manner a general disinterested benevolence takes place in a mind, which has already received pleasure from the happiness of a few: from associating pleasure with the happiness of these few, the transition is easy towards associating it *with happiness in general*, with the happiness of any being, whether produced by ourselves, or by any other causes whatever.

From the foregoing remarks, then we may conclude that disinterested passions are not innate, but that they may be traced, like our other passions, to feelings of regard for ourselves.*

If any one, in consequence of what has been said, should view with less respect or admiration than before, the exertions of the disinterested passions, it is no fair consequence of the explanation which I have brought forward: any passion whose object is the happiness of those around us must ever be lovely, and is it less lovely because it is fixed on the same basis as our other passions? Certainly not; we ought rather to contemplate with peculiar pleasure that masterly arrangement of mind, which thus confers a power upon selfishness

* If it should be here urged that children, at a very early age shew signs of disinterested affection by freely parting with their playthings, &c. to others, I should say that this does not appear to be generally the case with children, as they are much more openly selfish than adults; and that when it does happen, it is commonly from the fear of their parents' rebukes, or from the hope of their applauses. In very young infants it is certainly not to be observed at all: and children may perhaps, in some instances, form at a very early period, in the usual manner, a disinterested attachment to their playmates; I only contend that it does not appear in any case to be born with them.

itself of converting the pleasure and welfare of others into a source of the greatest delight to ourselves.*

* As the subjects of the rest of my Disquisitions preclude me from having again occasion to touch upon the Theory of the Association of Ideas, I may here be permitted to remark, that I find, both with surprise and regret, that the work of Hartley is still too slowly acquiring the high and extensive reputation, which it will indubitably attain at last. The zealous and skilful exertions, which were so laudably made by Dr. Priestley, to defend and to elucidate this truly astonishing production, were certainly not without effect; but I am persuaded that the odium, which was excited by the pernicious tendency of many of Dr. Priestley's publications, has been in some degree transferred, though very unfairly, to the "mighty master" from whom he imbibed his philosophy. The only passage in the writings of Bishop Horsley which I have read without instruction or pleasure, is that in which he has hastily and unjustly extended to Hartley, a sneer which was extorted by the virulence of his commentator.* The prejudices, however, which may thus have arisen, are rapidly abating, and will soon, I trust, be totally eradicated. At the present moment, the followers of Reid appear to be the most active obstructers of the celebrity of our great metaphysician; and the opinions of the philosopher of Glasgow have been lately much diffused, and warmly supported, by a neat and popular introduction to metaphysics,† by Professor Dugald Stewart. While the animated and overwhelming attack of Priestley on the Scotch Doctors

* Tracts in Controversy with Dr. Priestley, p. 105.

† Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind.

Doctors‡ still remains unanswered, no other reply can be demanded, I conceive, to the work of Stewart; and I shall only observe upon it, that although the professor blushes not to sanction an opinion, extracted from Hartley "by the much higher authority of Reid,"§ yet he finds himself under the necessity of recurring to the Theory of Association; and even in the *most important* point of dispute between the philosophers abovementioned (the endowment or non-endowment of the mind with *many* original principles), the candour of Dr. Stewart inclines him, apparently,‖ to side with the Hartleians.¶

‡ An Examination of Dr. Reid's Enquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense, of Dr. Beattie's Essay, and Dr. Oswald's Appeal. 1774.

§ Page 111. (2d Edition).

‖ My fear of misrepresentation has, perhaps, unnecessarily induced me to insert "apparently," for, in p. 392, the Professor repeats his disapprobation of the needless introduction of original principles, which is so strenously condemned by the followers of Hartley.

¶ P. 285.

OF THE

EVIDENCE FOR CHRISTIANITY.

DR. Butler has observed, in his Analogy, that the evidence for Christianity consists of many particulars, the full effect of which will only arise from their being collectively considered: several excellent treatises have already been produced, in which a variety of these particulars have been urged with much force; it still appeared to me, however, that the more important parts of the evidence might be advantageously stated in a manner somewhat different from any which I remember to have met with, and that in such a statement I could best introduce some observations which had occurred to me on the subject. This is attempted in the following disquisition.

Were any person, perfectly unprejudiced, to be presented with the New Testament for perusal, as a work consisting of the writings of different men, with their names prefixed to those writings, no suspicion could arise in his mind that they were not the real productions of these men, any more than that Cicero was not the author of the orations attributed to him, or that Pliny did not write the epistles to which his name is annexed: and in reading the work itself, the style, the matter, the simplicity of the narration, and the occurrence of the names of the authors in some of their compositions, would sufficiently convince him (as on other occasions) that the different parts of the collection before him were really written by those to whom they are attributed, and were perfectly suitable to the character and situation of the authors, and to the time in which they lived.

But if even this decisive internal evidence were not deemed sufficient, if other proofs were to be demanded of the genuineness and antiquity of the books of the New Testament, we should be at no loss for such proofs: both their genuineness and

antiquity are confirmed by the *testimony of Authors* who lived in the same period with the writers themselves, or who were their immediate successors; these authors indubitably quote passages from the Christian Scriptures, in the same manner as Aristotle quotes Homer and the Tragedians, and as Cicero quotes Ennius, that is, apparently from memory, without, perhaps, having the books before them, but certainly from the books themselves; and in the beginning of the second century (as is reasonably to be expected) the quotations are found to be still more frequent and more full: if this did not appear satisfactory, as in any other case it would, it can be shewn that, at a very early period after the composition of the Christian Scriptures, large bodies of men received them as the guide of their faith.* It appears then *that the genuineness and an-*

* If any one, who may not be inclined to consult the works of the Fathers themselves, will merely read the extracts made from them by Lardner (from Barnabas to Irenæus) he will find, I conceive, abundant evidence of what has been advanced above. *All* those Fathers, from the year 70, or sooner (for some place Clement in 61) to the year 178, clearly quote from (using the expression "as it is written," and other marks of quotation) or allude to, various parts of the New Testament; their quotations or

or allusions, which are very frequent and very copious, agree accurately, either in words or meaning, with passages in that collection of the Christian Scriptures which we now possess. In the writings of the Fathers, also, we find a very satisfactory proof, that the Gospels, &c. which we now receive as genuine, were really written by those to whom they are attributed; in the time of Justin Martyr (about 133) if not before, portions of the New Testament were read and expounded in the churches. The resurrection and other miracles, were firmly credited in the times of the earliest Fathers, some of whom were acquainted with the Apostles themselves, and were of course the best judges possible of the authenticity of the books of the New Testament. *Heathen* authors also, of early date, refer to various parts of the New Testament, and quote certain miracles as being recorded in it. See Lardner's Credibility, vol. II.

The very learned and satisfactory Dissertation of Michaelis, on *the authenticity of the New Testament*, may also be consulted with great advantage. (Introduct. to N. T. vol. I. c. ii.)

It may be proper to observe here, that an hypothesis has been most laboriously supported by Mr. Marsh (and admitted by some German theologians) of the existence of a Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldee document, which contained memorials of our Saviour, and which served as a ground-work to each of our three first gospels. If this hypothesis be just, which, however, is still much doubted, no inference could be reasonably drawn from it unfavourable to the validity of those gospels, for the persons by whom this original document is supposed to have been used, could not possibly fail of being most complete judges, both of the truth of its narrative, and of the authority of its composer.

I conceive also that no one would for a moment deny, that an unprejudiced reader would immediately give the same credit, at least, to the events recorded in the New Testament, which are not miraculous, as he would to the natural events recorded by Thucydides, by Julius Cæsar, or by Sallust; as being related either by eye-witnesses, or by those who were intimately connected with them; the events in Judæa narrated by such men, have the same claim to belief as those recorded to have happened in Greece; the voyage of St. Paul bears the same marks of natural relation as the journies of Cæsar:* the simple representation of affairs in the New Testament, the various particulars of customs, manners, times, persons, conversations, and places, the mention of circumstances apparently disadvantageous to the writers themselves, or to those connected with them, the discourses and character of Christ, and the design of his mission, as stated by the Evangelists, are most abun-

* The decisive, though apparently accidental, proof of authenticity, which certain passages of Scripture reflect upon each other, is most ingeniously and perspicuously stated in that excellent production of Paley, the "Horæ Paulinæ."

dant and convincing proofs that the Authors did not fabricate the work in their own imagination.*

Neither is external evidence deficient on this head; the suffering of Jesus Christ, under Pontius Pilate, is recorded by Tacitus; the existence of the Princes and Governors mentioned in the New Testament, the Roman and Jewish customs,† the treatment of the Jews by the Romans, the exact time said to have been spent in the building of the temple, the famine, and the banishment of the Christians under Claudius, and other particulars in the sacred writings, are confirmed by the clearest testimony of Heathen Authors:‡ *the New Testament, therefore possesses all the marks of truth which any history can possess.*

Neither can any one reasonably assert that although the greater part of the New Testament may be genuine and true, it is probable that the miracles are interpolated inventions of men who did

* See Lardner's Posthumous Sermons on the Internal Evidence for Christianity.

† See Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraic, and Talmudic.

‡ See Lardner's Credibility, vol. 1.

not write the histories; we never decide in this manner with respect to profane authors; we do not believe that the prodigies related in Livy were introduced by another hand; we do not believe that the account of the signs at the destruction of Jerusalem was an interpolation into Tacitus: besides this, the style used in the relation of the miracles, the belief of the Fathers in them, and the testimony of heathen writers of a very early date to their being then in the Testament, leave us no room to doubt for a moment on this subject.

It cannot again be urged, that on account of the supernatural events recorded in the New Testament the whole is to be regarded as untrue: this is not our usual way of judging; our belief in the natural circumstances cannot be reasonably shaken by the miraculous: for although Livy, and other historians of good character, have recorded supernatural events, we do not believe that therefore their histories were forged or invented, nor do the prodigies related in them weaken our belief in the natural occurrences, in the slightest degree.

As the New Testament then is genuine through-

out,* as it bears the same marks of a true relation which any heathen history bears, however credible; as its precepts, the precepts of forbearance, charity, and peace, are confessedly superior to the purest canons of philosophy; and as its promises are agreeable to our most exalted hopes, it is plain that the only difficulty attending its reception by some must arise from a reluctance to believe in the miracles recorded in it. Let us now consider this objection.

And here I would first observe that miracles appear perfectly consonant to a Divine Revelation, and therefore that they are found in the New Testament in those circumstances in which, of all

* With respect to some of the Epistles, I am aware that their genuineness has not been thought so unequivocally proved as that of other parts of Scripture. A most masterly and convincing vindication, however, of their claims to acceptance, will be found in Macknight's Translation of the Epistles (vol. III. 4to. p. 1, 300, &c.) But even if it were to be admitted that any doubts might still be entertained respecting them, no conclusion, unfavourable to the other parts of the New Testament, could thence be drawn; for no one suspects the genuineness of all Plato's works, because a small portion of them is deemed to be spurious; no one supposes that all Cicero's works are forgeries, because he did not write the Consolatio.

See Berkeley's Minute Philosopher, Dial. VI. § 5.

others, it is most probable they should have been performed: and also that a want of miracles would have been accounted by the very persons who object to them, and certainly by others, a want of a material part of the evidence for a Divine Revelation; this again increases the probability that they actually took place.

I believe no one has yet denied that a miracle may be wrought: indeed as the original formation of the earth, and of its inhabitants, and many other appearances which we daily meet with, must have been at first miraculous, we have proof positive that a miracle may be wrought, and has been wrought: but it has been said that a miracle, if wrought, can never be sufficiently established by *any* testimony; for a miracle, it is urged, is a deviation from the common laws of nature, that is, it is contrary to our experience; and our reliance on testimony is built upon experience; therefore, we may, in any case, in which an attempt is made to establish a miracle by the testimony of others, as well suppose that the general tenor of our experience should be contradicted by the testimony being false, as by the miracle being true. It is not

difficult to answer this specious argument: let any one fix upon three persons with whom he has been long acquainted, who are all men of strict integrity, and of good common understanding; suppose these three to agree in the relation of a fact totally contrary to experience, and the common laws of nature; suppose them seriously to affirm that they were eye-witnesses to this fact; and let the fact be of a kind which it should be rather detrimental to their own interest, or to that of those connected with them, to relate; or at least which they have no temptation to tell if not true; I say, in this case, would the friend of these men believe their relation? No doubt; if he believed on reasonable grounds; for it would most assuredly be a more extraordinary contradiction to our experience, that they should give testimony to a falsehood; that such men should deceive without any temptation to it; or that all the three should have their faculties so changed as to be deceived themselves, than that any single supernatural event should happen; a supernatural event *may* certainly come to pass; that *honest* men should *deceive knowingly*, and that *without any inducement to it*, *cannot* be the case; it

is *impossible :* if the friend of these men, therefore, does not rely upon their testimony, does not believe the event which they relate, he *must* believe that the senses, or perception, or minds and characters of the three were instantaneously changed by miraculous means, that is, he must believe *three* miracles instead of *one :* as it is plain, therefore, that the friend of these men cannot possibly avoid believing in something miraculous, in something totally contrary to experience, he surely would determine more reasonably in believing one supernatural event than three, in believing what is the least, than what is the most extraordinary : *I conclude, therefore, that there may be sufficient evidence to induce the rational belief of a miracle.*

This being premised, it remains to enquire whether the qualities which are to be expected in those, whose evidence may be considered as decisive in miraculous events, are to be found in the persons who bear testimony to the miracles recorded in the Gospel.

The qualities which we should reasonably expect in witnesses, and the only ones which we can desire, are honesty, and common sense, or the free

use of their faculties: in a court of judicature, two witnesses, in whom only the latter of these is evidently proved, are judged sufficient to decide on the life of a man: if, therefore, besides the competency of witnesses to judge, we can prove their honesty also, we have all that we can expect, or require, in a human being; and moreover, these qualities in witnesses, as I have just been proving, are amply sufficient to establish the rational belief of a miracle.

To apply this to the Authors of the New Testament; in the former part of this Essay, I have shewn that there is every reason, at least, which determines us on other occasions, to believe that the Apostles wrote the books and epistles attributed to them, and that the same persons who wrote the natural, wrote also the miraculous events: the Apostles therefore, and their companions, are the persons whose credibility is to be examined by the abovementioned standard.

Were they *honest?* The arguments which have been already urged as proofs of the truth of the Gospel relations, are in fact, so many proofs of the honesty of those who wrote them: but, moreover,

is it possible to receive from any one a more decided, unequivocal proof of honesty, than his persisting in a relation which exposes him infallibly to danger, and to great inconvenience? which inconvenience he not only exposes himself to, by a bare testimony when called upon, but which he willingly encounters by a laborious spreading of his belief? now, could it even be proved (as some have imagined) that the Apostles, and their companions, did not suffer much during their mission, though there are abundant proofs to the contrary,* still it must be admitted that they had every thing to fear; that they readily offered themselves to receive the hatred which had raged against their master, and that they had little reason to expect mild treatment from those, who had crucified him: besides this, Christ forewarned them of the reception which they should meet with in the world, that they should be hated and persecuted:† yet these men persevered in their course, without the most distant prospect of worldly advantage: can there be any doubt then of their honesty?

* See Cave's Lives of the Apostles.

† St. John's Gospel, chapter xv. 18, 19.

With respect to their *competency as witnesses*, it may be observed, that St. Matthew and St. John were eye-witnesses, as we find from their books; that St. Mark and St. Luke certainly wrote from the relations of eye-witnesses, or from what they had themselves seen; and that the Authors of the Epistles were also eye-witnesses, or immediately connected with them :* that the miracles recorded in the Gospel are of a kind which could not be counterfeited ;† that the mere use of their senses was all which was necessary for the witnesses to possess, to preclude any possibility of their being deceived; that they were all competent to judge whether a paralytic man was instantaneously cured or not, whether Jesus Christ appeared to them after his death or not, whether they themselves, and others intimately known to them, spoke in tongues which they had never learnt, or whether they did not; and the same of the other miracles: we infer, therefore, that the Writers of the New Testament were no less competent to judge, than

* See Lardner's Credibility, vol. II.

† See Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ. book II. c. 9.

honest in their relation; and of course then, if we do not believe their relation, must we not inevitably believe, either that *honest men* deceived *knowingly*, at the same time injuring themselves, which is *impossible?* or else, that the faculties, or characters of all these persons were changed very frequently by *supernatural* interpositions? this, however, is no less miraculous than any facts which they have related; it is also supposing a *much greater number* of miracles to have been wrought; and such miracles would be *equally a proof* of a Divine Revelation.

Such is the strength of the evidence of the Apostles and their companions, when standing by itself: but a very strong argument in its favour is to be drawn from the evidence, quite independent of theirs, of the accomplishment of Prophecies: for if any single miraculous interposition (such as prophecy) can be proved, the proof of other miracles is rendered easier: now we find in the Old Testament (the authenticity of which, is in fact, proved by that of the New)* prophetic pas-

* "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me." "But

sages fulfilled by the appearance of Christ at the *time* in which he came into the world, at the *place* in which he dwelt, and by his *sufferings;* and this appearance and suffering of Christ, at the time and in the place predicted, is proved by the testimony of *heathen* authors :* we have also unquestionable proofs of the fulfilment of the Prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, of the rise of Antichrist, and of the persecution of the Christians; and moreover we are ourselves eye-witnesses, at this day, to the accomplishment of the Prophecy of the spread of Christianity, and to that remarkable one, in the Old Testament, of the dispersion but preservation of the Jews, as a distinct nation.†

"But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" John, v. 46, 47.

May I be permitted to recommend to the attention of my reader, the striking Remarks on the *Mission and Power of Moses*, which occur in Bryant's "Observations upon the Plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians," (page 258, &c.)?

* Tacitus, Suetonius, and others.

† The following observations of Dr. Johnson, on the important subject of which I have been speaking, serve strongly to enforce my conclusions. "Although God has made Nature to operate

Perhaps some one may be here disposed to enquire why the Christians should receive as authentic the miracles recorded in the New Testament, and reject those of historians who bear a high character for veracity: it was the opinion of Dr. Hartley,* that it was impossible to prove all pagan miracles to be false; but I conceive they are usually re-

operate by certain fixed laws, yet it is not unreasonable to think that he may suspend those laws, in order to establish a system highly advantageous to mankind. Now the Christian religion is a most beneficial system, as it gives us light and certainty where we were before in darkness and doubt. The miracles which prove it are attested by men who had no interest in deceiving us, but who, on the contrary, were told that they should suffer persecution, and did actually lay down their lives in confirmation of the facts which they asserted. Indeed for some centuries the heathens did not pretend to deny the miracles, but said they were performed by the aid of evil spirits. This is a circumstance of great weight. Then when we take the proofs from prophecies which have been so exactly fulfilled, we have most satisfactory evidence. Supposing a miracle possible, as to which, in my opinion, there can be no doubt, we have as strong evidence for the miracles, in support of Christianity, as the nature of the thing admits." Boswell's Life of Johnson.

Among the heathens who entertained the impious opinion of miracles noticed by Dr. Johnson, Celsus was particularly notorious; a full answer to him may be seen in "Origenes contra Celsum," (p. 90, &c. Spencer's Edit.)

* Observations on Man, vol. II. Evidence for Christianity.

garded as being so, for the following reasons: namely, that the historians relating them do not declare that they were eye-witnesses of them; nor did they hear them from eye-witnesses; that they often give room to think that they did not themselves believe them; that they evidently insert them in some cases through flattery; that the miracles they relate appear to have no important tendency; that the relation of them was never attended with any danger or inconvenience, but that the omission of them probably might: it may hence be inferred that the prophane historians had not the qualities required in credible witnesses with respect to the miraculous facts which they relate.*

From the foregoing observations then it follows, that if we allow the same weight to the arguments for Christianity which we do to similar arguments, on other occasions, they lead us to believe that the New Testament is a genuine production of those to whom it is attributed; that the facts both na-

* A learned, though somewhat quaint, attack upon *modern miracles*, may be seen in the Works of Bishop Hall, vol. 1. p. 284, fol. Douglas's "Criterion," may also be consulted with great profit and amusement.

tural and miraculous, recorded therein, are not inventions of the writers; that these facts *can* be proved by testimony; that the testimony of those who wrote them is that of men as much entitled to belief as any witnesses can possibly be; and that their evidence is still farther corroborated by the accomplishment of Prophecies in the Old and New Testament, to the fulfilment of some of which we are ourselves eye-witnesses at this day.

OF THE CONNECTION OF PAIN AND PLEASURE.

THAT the cessation of pain is accompanied by pleasure, is a fact which has been repeatedly observed: if the remarks which I shall offer on this subject be not deemed sufficient to explain completely the cause of this connection between such opposite feelings, they may still, however, afford some assistance towards an investigation of it.

The organs of bodily sensations, whether of a pleasing or a painful kind, are decided by various experiments to be the brain and nerves: the nerves conduct, and the brain receives impressions: this system, therefore (as it is called) may be considered as capable of being in the state of pleasure, of pain, and of indifference.

Let us suppose a person in a state of indifference as to heat; upon coming near a fire he will experience at first an agreeable warmth, that is, pleasure; if the heat be increased, this state of pleasure will, after a time, be converted into one of pain, from the increased action upon the nerves and brain: then let the heat be gradually withdrawn, the nervous system must acquire again, during this removal, the state of warmth, that is, pleasure; and finally, after passing through that state, (the heat still being diminished) it will arrive at indifference: from this then we may conclude, that a state of pleasure may be increased, or pushed on, till it is converted into one of pain; and on the other hand, that any action which produces pain, will, if it gradually goes off, induce at a certain period of its decrease, a state of pleasure.

The same reasoning which has now been applied to the body, may be extended also to the mind; total langour of mind is not so pleasant as a certain degree of action or emotion; and emotions pleasant at one period, may be increased till they become painful; and of course, then, when any circumstance so acts upon, or stimulates the

mind as to raise it, and the nervous system, with which it is connected, to a state of pain, if such emotion gradually expires, it is plain that at a certain period of its decrease, it will induce a state of pleasure: such a state lying between pain and indifference; above indifference, and below pain.

Hence then we are able to explain why pleasure should arise in all cases from the *gradual* cessation of any action or emotion which produces pain.

But that excess of action which causes pain does not always go off *gradually:* organization may be be destroyed, or the pain may be suddenly removed in other ways; still, however, its removal will be succeeded by pleasure: but pleasure cannot then arise in the same manner as when the action gradually abates; it must depend on some other cause: but the person who is relieved appears to have no new source of pleasure communicated to him, and supposing him previously to feeling the pain, to have been in a state of indifference, how should it happen, that from the mere removal of the pain he should experience pleasure?

In order to answer this question I must lay down the following law of Nature, which is abundantly confirmed by experience, viz. " that the temporary interruption of any action, upon the body or mind, invariably renders them more susceptible of that action when again produced." Thus after long fasting, the body is more susceptible of the effects of food, than if the stomach had been lately satisfied; the action of strong liquors is found to be greater on those who use them seldom, than on such as are in the habit of drinking them: thus too with respect to the mind, if a person be deprived for a time of his friend's society, or of a favourite amusement, the next visit of his friend, or the next renewal of his amusement, is attended with much more pleasure than if they had never been withheld from him.

To apply this law to the case of a person suddenly relieved from acute pain: while he labours with such pain, his mind is totally occupied with it, and he is unable to attend to his customary pursuits or amusements: he becomes therefore more susceptible of their action by this interruption of

them, and when they are again presented to him, their action is so much more powerful than before, that it raises him above indifference to pleasure.*

But, again, all pains do not proceed from an excess of action; they may arise from reducing the body, or the mind, to a state below indifference, as well as from raising it to a state very high above it: thus, if a person have just sufficient warmth in his body to keep him barely at ease, or in a state of indifference, by withdrawing this heat, that is by making him feel cold, a state of uneasiness or pain is induced: so also if a person, whose mind is in a calm state, be made acquainted with a melancholy event, his quiet is interrupted, and he sinks below indifference, into a painful state of mind: now in the former case, the mere removal of the cold is attended with pleasure, and in the latter case, the mere withdrawal of the grief; although no new source of pleasure is communicated in either case.

This I conceive to depend upon the law of Nature, which I have just been stating; the conse-

* It is not improbable that in cases of the gradual removal of pain also, the pleasure which succeeds may be sometimes increased from this cause.

quence of the removal of the cold, (which is effected by again communicating the portion of heat which had been lost) is the renewed action of that heat; but from its absence for a time, the body is more susceptible of its action than before; its action is therefore greater, and the body is raised above the point we supposed it at originally, indifference, and of course it reaches pleasure.*

In like manner when grief also is withdrawn from the mind, its usual cheerfulness is restored, and the common amusements, or occupations, of life are resumed; but the mind is now, from having lost these for a time, become more susceptible of their action; their action therefore raises it above indifference, and of course it is stimulated to pleasure: this is equally the case whether the pain be gradually or suddenly removed.

Thus, then, whether pain arises from excess or deficiency of action, the gradual, or the sudden removal of it, must be in all cases attended with pleasure.

* The action of heat upon those who have been long exposed to severe cold, is so great as to go beyond pleasure, and to produce even dangerous effects.

OF LUXURY.

LUXURY has been deemed detrimental to a state on different accounts: among other injurious tendencies, which have been imputed to it, is that of its checking the increase of national riches; if the wealth of a kingdom, it has been urged, consists of the stock of productions raised from the ground, and of those formed by the labour of its inhabitants, whatsoever decreases this stock unnecessarily, which Luxury does, must of course diminish the wealth of the state.

This argument appears at first sight conclusive; but a little attention will enable us, in a great degree, to avert it. Luxury may be defined a consumption, or enjoyment, of unnecessary commodi-

ties; now if there were no demand for such commodities, it is plain that they would never be produced; for no inducement, or reward, would be offered for producing them; but Luxury causes a reward to be offered for them, and of course occasions their production; we therefore fairly arrive at this conclusion, that Luxury causes an increase of commodities in a state.

But if the produce of every year's labour in raising, fabricating, or importing, unnecessary commodities, be all consumed annually, then, indeed, the state is not permanently richer; but it is certainly richer for that year; since a quantity of unnecessary commodities have been in possession of it, though they have also been consumed: but the unnecessary commodities produced annually, are not all annually consumed; much of them remain, as houses, furniture, plate, pictures, books, &c. these are permanent riches to a kingdom, and in this way, therefore, Luxury causes the increase of the wealth of a state.

By the medium of Luxury again, the revenue, and sometimes the capital, of both the unproductive and productive classes of society, is thrown a

great deal into the hands of the industrious; it there commonly assumes the form of stock in trade, and though all such stock is not permanent riches to a kingdom, (for articles of quick consumption can hardly be so deemed), yet much of the stock in trade, as shops, warehouses, buildings for manufactories, machines, implements of art, &c. are permanent, and of course Luxury, in this way also increases the wealth of a state.

The mistake then of those who suppose that Luxury diminishes national wealth, arises from merely considering it as a consumer of commodities, without remembering that it is the same Luxury which creates a demand, which causes a reward to be offered for them, and without which they would never have been produced.

As one man can raise considerably more by his labour on the earth than would procure to himself the necessaries of life; and considerably more, if he be a tenant, than would procure them to himself and to his landlord; it is plain that in order to induce this man to exert himself to the utmost, and in order to induce his landlord to diffuse his share of the produce of the earth, they must

both be tempted to it by the offer of other commodities, besides those which are absolutely necessary, in return; that is by Luxury: in this way then Luxury, by promoting the labour of the tiller of the ground, and by disposing both him and the possessor of the ground, willingly to part with their superabundant produce to the industrious, increases the population and happiness, as well as riches of a state. If two hundred men (to repeat this statement) could by moderate labour support themselves and three hundred more, they must be induced to work a sufficient time to accomplish this by rewards offered them by the three hundred; that is by articles of Luxury fabricated or procured by them; and of course the moderate labour of these three hundred must be employed to that end; it is plain then that the state must thus be richer than if the two hundred men (who are supposed to be all-sufficient for the purpose) were compelled to work, and to maintain the three hundred in idleness; but the state would not only be richer if they all work, but also happier; the talents of all its inhabitants would then be called into action; this would produce various

sources of convenience, amusement, and delight, the greater part of which would probably be otherwise unknown, and of course the aggregate sum of enjoyment greatly abridged.

It appears then that Luxury has evidently been of service to states; and that the riches accumulated in a state by means of it, must be in proportion to the demand for durable commodities.

But although Luxury thus increases the wealth and happiness of a nation, there can be no doubt that its excess would be attended with pernicious effects: besides being ruinous to individuals, and throwing them into a lower class of society, which indeed is of no great consequence to the whole of the state, it might introduce too eager a pursuit of money, and in that way tend to the corruption of good morals, while it was at the same time promoting effeminacy: such a loss of virtue, and of courage, would certainly endanger the safety of the state.

OF THE POETICAL CHARACTER OF HORACE.*

IN the list of Roman Poets who have been held up as the ornament of their country, a distinguished place has generally been allowed to Horace; I cannot but suspect, however, that greater praise has been bestowed by many upon his poetical compositions than candid criticism will admit.

The author of whom I am speaking, was by no means solely prompted to write by the desire of acquiring reputation as a poet:† he had a nobler

* For some hints, which may be deemed the ground-work of this Essay, I wish to acknowledge myself indebted to Sultzer, (on the Fine Arts.)

† Horace was the son of a freed-man of considerable property; his

object before him, that of promoting the virtue of the state: his first poetical attempts were satires; and throughout the greater part of his productions, he appears to have had constantly in his view, the inculcation of manly sentiments and useful maxims,

his father not only procured him the best instructors, but watching himself over the conduct of his child with an attentive eye, laboured to implant in him, at an early age, a love of virtue, with a contempt and abhorrence of vice. When his education at Rome was finished, Horace was sent to Athens; he was there engaged in philosophical pursuits, when the civil war broke out, and he joined the partisans of liberty; he seems to have been sincere and active in their cause, for he was entrusted with the command of troops, and fought at Philippi. The loss of this battle was fatal to the freedom of Rome, and Horace was among the number of those whose estates were confiscated by the conquerors; soon after this period, he appears to have first presented himself to the public as an author: finding all exertions for a change of government would be fruitless, and impelled, as he tells us, by poverty, which was not, indeed, literally the case, he began to exert those talents, which attracted, as he probably expected they would, the notice and the rewards of the great.

The friendship which he formed with Mæcenas and the Emperor, was certainly favourable to the design, which Horace seems to have adopted from the time of his first publications, of turning his attention chiefly to moral subjects: he was encouraged, and sometimes perhaps requested, by his patrons, to direct his writings to the restoration of peace and good order, and to assail with ridicule and reproof, the licentiousness of the times: a task so agreeable to his inclinations, he performed during the greater part of his life, with ability and steadiness.

the ridiculing of the follies, and the reformation of the morals of his countrymen.

With such an aim as this, we cannot wonder that Horace should have been so deeply engrossed as to have considered poetry rather as a pleasant means of instruction, than as a primary object of pursuit.

—— ego me illorum dederim quibus esse poetas
Excerpam numero. Serm. 1. 4. 39.

But without insisting upon his own professions, it will readily be granted, that it is in his Lyric pieces we may expect to find the most brilliant display of his poetical talents: to these then we shall turn our attention.

The ode, like any other piece of poetical composition, is written with some determined end; and this end should be one: whether a hero is to be praised, a mourner to be soothed, a virtue to be inculcated, or a vice to be reproved, the subject of the ode is single and defined; of the great direction and purpose of the performance, therefore, the poet should never lose sight; an unconnected groupe of thoughts and images, however striking or affecting, form not a good ode; what-

ever is introduced, should evidently tend to the end which is in view, whatever is unconnected with this end is idle, and ineffective, and spoils that unity of design which is essential to the excellence of the piece. Neither is it all-sufficient merely to unite the different passages or portions of the ode, with the theme on which it is written; the poet must not stop here; the passages must also be united among themselves, the mind should glide with ease from one part to the next, the link between them should be plainly discernible, or the piece is a mere cento. Connection of component parts, together with wholeness (if I may so express it) are essential to the perfection of the ode.

But the lyric compositions of Horace, besides being very often deficient in these requisites, are not unfrequently displeasing from a want of simplicity, and from their inequality both in style and in thought.

To attempt the proof of these assertions by an elaborate critique on the writings of this author would far exceed the limits of an essay; I shall content myself with producing some instances of

his deficiencies, which are to be met with even in his more celebrated odes.

Let us shortly examine the ode to Iulus: this piece has by some been exalted as the rival of the Lyrics of Pindar, and may be selected as a composition in which Horace has greatly exerted himself. It begins with the comparison of the poet who imitates Pindar to a person trusting to artificial wings, in his flight over the sea; this is farfetched; Pindar is then compared to a river overflowing its banks; this is no doubt a just simile; the subjects of which this poet treats are next enumerated: Horace then compares Pindar to a swan, and himself to a bee; then abruptly addressing Iulus, he advises him to sing the triumph of Augustus, whom our poet compliments in a high strain, and finishes with telling his friend to sacrifice, on the occasion of this triumph, ten bulls and cows, while he himself shall offer up a calf: nearly two stanzas are occupied in the description of this victim. It is sufficiently evident, that this ode is remarkably faulty, as to unity of design, and its subject matter can claim upon the whole but little approbation. Another poem of this author's,

which has also been greatly admired, is the ode to Calliope; after beginning with an address to the Goddess, Horace relates the dangers from which he was preserved by the care of the Muses, and expresses his reliance on their future protection: in this part of the ode we meet with a long list of names of places, than which nothing can be more tedious in poetry; he next desires the Muses to recreate Cæsar after his labours; then follows a description (by no means well connected with what precedes) of the war of the Titans, and this description necessarily abounds with the proper names of Gods; he then remarks upon the excellence of wisdom, and finishes with an account of the sufferings of the Giants: by the introduction of this war, I apprehend, the poet means it should be inferred that the Gods were indebted to wisdom as much as to strength, for their victory over the ignorant, though daring Titans: surely this starting into mythology to compliment Calliope, is no very excellent expedient; may I presume to observe, that it would have been much more natural, as well as interesting, to have described the effects really produced by the humanizing Muses, than

to have insisted upon the importance of prudence in this imaginary battle: how would the pen of Lucretius, or of Ovid, have charmed upon a subject so delightful, and so rich in beautiful appendages. In the ode "Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytelenen," we meet with so striking a want of connection, that many have been induced to believe some of it lost; even with this allowance, it has not the slightest pretensions to wholeness: the style of the ode "O Navis, referent in mare te novi," borders upon the bombast: the ode to Fortune, though it has a splendid beginning, sinks in its progress: the celebrated ode "Angustam, amici, pauperiem pati," falls off remarkably towards the the end, and introduces a new subject, foreign from the rest of the piece; and in the ode "Inclusam Danaen turris ahenea," we meet with some lines which are better suited to the Sermones.

A careful perusal of the works of Horace will, I am persuaded, furnish other instances of imperfections of a similar kind; those which I have mentioned, are sufficient to shew, that his poems of the loftier cast, are far from being complete in their kind; I am, however, by no means unwilling to acknowledge, that some may be selected

from them, which are well deserving of approbation, and that among his lighter odes, the "Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa," the "Vile potabis modicis Sabinum," into which, a compliment to Mæcenas is so dexterously introduced, and the "Persicos odi, puer, apparatus," are well entitled to the highest praise which they have hitherto received.

Horace is certainly distinguished by various excellencies; the man of elegance, of good sense, of delicate humour, and keen penetration,* the philosopher, and the sound critic,† are prevalent throughout his works; such is the praise which no one will deny to him: but that high and unqualified applause which he has received as a lyric poet, is certainly more than he can claim from his productions, and cannot, but in some degree, have arisen from an indiscriminating partiality to the works of the ancients.

* Tersior ac purus magis Horatius, et ad notandos mores hominum præcipuus. Quintillian. Instit. Lib. x. 1.

† The *Epistle to the Pisos* is ably vindicated, by Bishop Hurd, from the censures of Scaliger and Salmasius; and Strada has in some degree reconciled us to the opinion which Horace has expressed of Plautus. (Prolus. Lib. III. Præl. 1).

DISQUISITIONS

ANTIQUARIAN, &c.

———*nec ego id quod deest antiquitati, flagito potius quam laudo quod est.* CICERO.

OF THE TERM "HEBREW."

OF THE TERM "HEBREW."

ABRAHAM is called in the Old Testament עברי* (Ἑβραιος, ὁ Περατης†) because he came from beyond the river (Euphrates); his posterity are thence denominated by the Jewish writers, both before and after the captivity,‡ *Hebrews*, i. e. Transfluvials.

* Genesis, xiv. 13.

† It is so rendered in the Septuagint. And see the Remarks of Origen, &c. on the word περατης, in Bos's Edition of the lxx, p. 15.

‡ Genesis xxxix. 17. Exod. i. 16. Deut. xv. 12. Acts vi. 1. 2 Corinth. xi. 22.

It has indeed been contended by some, that Abraham and his posterity were named Hebrews, from *Heber*, the son of Salah; but this opinion is now generally deemed erroneous.

The *ancient* language of the Jewish nation has been named by the moderns (for it is *not* so called either in the Old or New Testament) the *Hebrew* tongue.

It is not easy to decide what this language was; it is supposed by some to have been the Canaanitish;* the strongest arguments adduced in favour of this opinion are, that the Jews appear to have required no interpreters of the Canaanitish language, as they did of many other tongues; that several words, or the roots of several words at least, in the Phœnician and Punic languages, which are dialects of the Canaanitish, are to be found in the Hebrew;† and that Isaiah expressly calls the language of the Jews the lip of Canaan (כנען).‡

* Bocharti. Geograph. Sacr. Lib. II. 1. Walton's Prolegom. III. 13, 14, and Lewis's Hebrew Antiquities, vol. IV. p. 146.

† As the Carthaginian words *Suffetes*, *Elissa*, *Asdrubal*.

‡ Isaiah, XIX. 18.

By others* again, it is strenuously contended, that the ancient language of the Jews was the original inspired language of man; that this language was received by Abraham from his forefathers, and transmitted by him to his descendants; the most convincing arguments in favour of this opinion are, that the Jews can hardly be supposed to have adopted the language of a hateful and impious nation; that the Law of Moses, which was at all times intelligible to the Jews previous to the captivity, was written by command of the Deity, or in part by the finger of God himself, in the original inspired language; and that the words (particularly *proper names* for example) which were in use among the Jews when residing in Canaan, were as truly Hebrew in their etymology, as words of an earlier date, which occur in the Old Testament. With respect to the term Canaanitish, applied by Isaiah to the Jewish tongue, it is urged that he meant to speak only of the *then* language of Canaan as *occupied by the Jews.*

* Lightfoot (Heb. and Talmud. Exercitat. fol. p. 644.) Gregory Sharpe (Hebrew Grammar, p. 22. Parkhurst (Preface to Hebrew Lexicon, and the word קרא) and the whole Hutchinsonian school.

Calmet and others, again, adopting in part the opinion which I have just been stating, farther assert, that the ancient Jewish language was in fact Chaldee ;* this hypothesis, however, it is impossible to support without supposing, that either the Chaldee of the Jews, or that of the Assyrians, although originally the same, must have undergone not very slowly, some most extraordinary changes; for both in the earlier and later periods of the Jewish history, we find decisive proofs of a *material* difference between the Jewish and Chaldee tongues.†

* The Chaldee tongue is styled, by Albert Schultens, "Hebrææ matris splendidissima propago—ejus ornatissima, ut ita dicam, atque amplissima filia," p. 16 of the Orat. Inaug. annexed to his Origines Hebrææ. (1724).

† "The heap of Testimony" which was called by Laban יגר שהדותא (Jegar Sahaduta), was named by Jacob גלעד (Galeed); the former of these appellations is Chaldee, the latter Jewish, Genesis XXXI. 47. See Pole's Synopsis on this verse, and Bochart Opera, vol. II. p. 700.

It is plain too from 2 Kings, XVIII. 26, that the Chaldee language was unintelligible to the Jewish populace in the time of Hezekiah.

At the return of the Jews from Babylon, when they had acquired the Chaldee dialect, they were unable to comprehend their own Scriptures, except in a translation. Nehemiah VIII. 8.

and

This old Jewish tongue then, whatever may have been its origin, was denominated by the moderns Hebrew; now the word Hebrew, as signifying *Transfluvial*, might undoubtedly have been applied with more accuracy to the Chaldee tongue,* which was an *acknowledged Transfluvial* one, than to that of the *Jews*;† but it does not appear that the moderns meant, by denominating the Jewish tongue Hebrew, to define the *nature* or *origin* of that tongue, but merely to express that it was the language used by the *Hebrew* nation.‡

After the captivity, the dialect of the Jews, which had been changed during their residence at

and Pole (Synopsis) on this verse. The Chaldee paraphrases prove the same. (Prideaux's Connect. of O. and N. T. vol. II. p. 533.

* The Chaldee language, however, was never called Hebrew, or Transfluvial, even by the Jews; it is usually named in the Old Testament ארמית (Aramith) which is rendered (somewhat too vaguely, but after the LXX. and Vulgate) in our translation, *Syrian*.

† Especially if Canaanitish.

‡ As the words Welch, Irish, &c. are used in speaking of the Celtic tongue.

Babylon, was *Syro-Chaldaic*,* but *this* language is denominated by the writers of the New Testament, by Josephus, &c. *Hebrew*. Here the word עברית, Ἑβραϊστι, appears to be properly used, as expressing the Chaldee or Transfluvial tongue; but the propriety of its application in this respect is merely *accidental*, as the words עברית and Ἑβραιστι are by no means applied to the then Jewish tongue, to mark its being a *Transfluvial dialect*, or dialect spoken beyond the Euphrates, but are used to signify that the people, whose language they designate, were a Transfluvial people;† in the same way we

* See Ἑβραϊς in Schleusner's Lex. in N. T.

This language certainly differs from the Syriac, for in the Syriac version of the N. T. the dialect of Syria is called "*Suraith*," whereas the Ἑβραϊστι of the N. T. is rendered "*Ghebraith*."

Besides this common dialect, the Jewish writers had a peculiar one, usually called the *Rabbinical*. See Schoettgen. Horæ. Hebraic. and Talmud. vol. I. p. 786, 787.

† This explanation of the word עברית is given by the Jews themselves. Aruch. in עבר Gloss, in Megil. fol. 8. 2. (Lightfoot vol. II.)

As the Jews bore a great hatred to their conquerors, they seem to have purposely denominated their language at this time Hebrew,

might call the native language of the Blacks, the Black language.

The word Hebrew, then, whether applied by *the moderns* to the Jewish tongue *before* the captivity, or by *the Jews themselves*, to the newly acquired dialect of their nation *after* the captivity, appears to have had in neither case any reference to the origin of these languages, but merely to the name of the people, "Hebrews," whose language it was used to signify.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, after the captivity, the pure and ancient language of the Old Testament (which is called by the moderns Hebrew) was called by the Jews themselves (אשורי לשון) Assyrian, or the holy language;* but this appellation undoubtedly applies only to the *characters* of that language; by some it is supposed that the Scriptures were originally written in the Assyrian character, and that after the first temple,

brew, instead of Chaldee (as it might have been more properly called), in order to make it appear to have been their original *national* tongue.

* See Lightfoot's Heb. and Talmud. Exercit. 2d vol. of his works, p. 659.

the Canaanitish or Samaritan character was introduced ;* by others it is asserted, that none but Assyrian characters were ever used in writing the Scriptures :† by others again, that the Samaritan character alone was used till after the captivity ;‡ by *all*, however, it is admitted, that the Assyrian letter was uniformly adopted in writing the Scriptures, after the return of the Jews from Babylon. This then explains the term *Assyrian* as applied to the language of the Old Testament.

* See Kennicot's Dissertation on the State of the Printed Hebrew Text, &c. vol. II. p. 145.

† Jennings' Jewish Antiquities. vol. II. p. 337.

‡ Scaliger. Animadvert. in Eusebii Chronicon.

REMARKS

Tending to prove that the Melita on which St. Paul was shipwrecked, is the Melita of the Mediterranean.

THE following account of a voyage of St. Paul is recorded in the New Testament.

St. Paul, after his examination by Agrippa, set sail for Italy; he touched at Sidon, coasted along the shores of Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, and arrived at Crete.

From Crete he was proceeding to Italy, when a violent storm arose, the wind Euroclydon blew with great violence, and the vessel in which St. Paul had embarked, after being tost for some time in the Adriatic, was finally stranded on the coast of Melita.*

That the Melita on which St. Paul was thus cast, was the Melita (or Malta) of the Mediterranean,

* Acts, chapters XXVII. and XXVIII.

and not that of the Adriatic, will appear highly probable from the following considerations.

1st.—Melita of the Mediterranean was more *in the direction* in which the ship should pass in its course from Crete to Italy, than the Melita of the Adriatic, and the mariners would undoubtedly endeavour, as much as possible, to keep the vessel in its proper direction, though driving before the storm.

2d.—The Euroclydon (which is translated in the vulgate Euroaquilo) is believed to be a north-east wind,* hence it seems difficult to conceive that

* Bentley asserts that it might be deemed, with more accuracy, a wind from the east-north-east. See his explanation of it, and his defence of reading Ευρακυλων for Ευροκλυδων, in "Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free Thinking," by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, part 1. p. 69, (edition 3d). Matthæi, however, retains the usual reading; observing upon Ευρακυλων in the Alexandrine MS. "Obiter hoc loco æstimare licet fidem Cod. Alexandr. qui solus cum vulgata habet ευρακυλων. Ac si ακυλων sit *aquilo*." From the profound erudition, and eminent critical acumen of this laborious Editor of the New Testament, an appeal, I think, either on this point, or on others of infinitely greater importance, can very rarely be hazarded with advantage.

It may be proper to add, that Schleusner, although he speaks with some diffidence, (in his Lex. in N. T.) of the meaning of Ευροκλυδων, is inclined to derive it from "ευρος, *eurus*, ventus ab oriente flans, et fere ingentem maris commotionem et fluctuationem

the vessel should have been driven *so far up* the Adriatic as to be wrecked on that Melita which lies opposite to the coast of Illyricum.

3d.—St. Paul, says, indeed, that the ship was driven backwards and forwards in the *Adriatic*, yet it is not necessary to suppose that he means to speak here of the Adriatic, strictly so called, for Strabo observes, that the title of Adriatic was given *to the Adriatic and Ionian seas united;* the latter of these ran down to the most southern extremity of Italy, and it is highly probable, that, from some temporary variation of the wind, or from the force of currents, the vessel might be borne some little way into the *Ionian* sea, tost about there for a time, driven by the wind (again blowing as before from the north-east), past Sicily, and finally dashed upon Malta, which is at no great distance from that island.

4th.—After St. Paul reaches Melita, he proceeds to Italy in an Alexandrian vessel; now the track of this vessel appears completely to determine from *what* Melita St. Paul sailed; it coasts Sicily,

tionem excitans, et κλυδων, *fluctus.*" But even if it could be established that Ευροκλυδων was a due east wind, this interpretation would little affect the reasoning which I have advanced.

touching at Syracuse, and proceeds to Rhegium and Puteoli; from this course it is plain that the vessel must have sailed from Melita in the Mediterranean, for it would be quite unreasonable to suppose that any vessel would have passed from the Adriatic Melita to Italy in so circuitous and strange a direction.

5th.—It appears more probable that the Alexandrian vessel above mentioned, should have been found at Melita of the Mediterranean, than at Melita of the Adriatic, because the former was a place of very considerable trade, and because it is evidently more in the course of a vessel which may reasonably have been supposed to have sailed from Alexandria, and which appears to have been bound to Syracuse and to Italy.*

* We learn from Bochart* and Lightfoot,† (who both take for granted that St. Paul was shipwrecked on Melita of the Mediterranean) that this island was, for some time, under the jurisdiction of the Carthaginians, and that its name is a pure *Phœnician* word, signifying "refugium;" a title, which well agrees with the account of Melita given by Diodorus (Lib. 5.)—"ΚΑΤΑΦΥΓΗΝ ειχον (οι Φοινικες) ταυτην ευλιμενον ουσαν."

* Opera Omnia, vol. II. p. 500.

† Vol. II. of his works p. 704.

AN ACCOUNT OF

ST. GEORGE OF ENGLAND,

WITH A

Translation of a Gothic Fragment respecting him.

DIFFERENT opinions have been adopted respecting the æra, the origin, and the adventures of the tutelary Saint of England; and the doubts which are still entertained on these subjects, will never perhaps be entirely removed, till some new sources of instruction shall be fortunately discovered. A summary view however of the historical information which we are now able to collect respecting St. George, will not be deemed, I trust, an unacceptable introduction to the translation, that I have to offer, of a very ancient metrical fragment which celebrates his sufferings.

The account of St. George, which has the greatest pretensions to antiquity, is that attributed

to Pasicrates, who is reported to have been his servant: but both the authenticity and the date of this production are exceedingly questionable.

It has been asserted by some, that the martyrdom of our patron Saint is recorded by Eusebius in entering upon the narrative of the persecution by Diocletian; but in the passage adduced in proof of this assertion, the name of George certainly does not occur,* although Eusebius might possibly mean to include him in the class of "military brethren," who first fell victims to the indignation of the Emperor.

Another anonymous person, of the same period, and noticed by the same writer, is also imagined by others to have been St. George. This person is the young man whom Eusebius records to have been apprehended, at Nicomedia, for tearing down the edicts against the church, which had been fixed up in the public places; and whose pious audacity was immediately punished by torture and death.†

* εκ των εν στρατειαις αδελφων καταρχομενα τα διωγμα.
Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VIII. 1.

† Euseb. Hist. Ec. Lib. VIII. 5.

But although such very equivocal testimonies as these may be readily rejected; and although a variety of idle, improbable tales respecting St. George, which have been introduced into the legends of Metaphrastes and others, have undoubtedly no better claim to attention, yet I cannot conceive that any good reason can be adduced for a contemptuous disregard of *all* that evidence respecting the life and character of our Saint, which is contained in the *most ancient rituals and service-books* of the Eastern Church.

The composers of these works may certainly have been occasionally tempted to exaggerate the virtues, the sufferings, or the powers of the canonized; but it is highly improbable that they should have so widely and wantonly deviated from truth, as not to have usually recorded, with some degree of accuracy, the *ordinary* circumstances which they deigned to notice.

Totally disregarding, then, any miraculous particulars related of St. George, we need not, I think, hesitate to believe, from an examination of the compositions above mentioned, that *he was a Saint of high repute in the Eastern Church, at a*

very early period; that he was a Cappadocian of a good family, a commander of note in the time of Diocletian, and that, after obtaining the honourable title of Count, he finally suffered martyrdom on the twenty-third of April, the day on which his festival is still kept.*

* The above assertions rest upon the following passages:

Ὁ ενδοξος, και θαυμαστος, και μεγας μαρτυς Γεωργιος κατα τους χρονους ην Διοκλητιανε τε βασιλεως εκ χωρας της Καππαδόκων, γενους επισημε, εν ταις των τριβενων στρατειαις διαπρεψας. —Κομηζην. Μηνιαιον *Aprilis* κγ.

In verses sung just before the commemoration of St. George, in the Greek Church, we find:—

Εχθρους ὁ τεμνων Γεωργιος εν μαχαις
Εκων παρ' εχθρων τεμνεται δια ξιφους—and
Ηρε Γεωργιε εικαδι τριτατη αυχενα χαλκος.

He is thus addressed in the Greek ritual:—

Τε μεγαλε βασιλεως στρατιῶτα Γεωργιε-Καλλινικε Γεωργιε.

And is also styled in the same,

Μονομαχος,

Μυριονικος Χριστε αθλητης, and

Τροπαιοφορος, αιχμαλωτων ελευθερωτης, και των πτωχων υπερασπιστης, ασθενεντων ιατρος, βασιλεων ὑπερμαχος, μεγαλόμαρτυς.

Even in the smaller rituals of the Greeks, St. George is uniformly noticed.

For farther satisfaction on this subject, see Selden's Titles of Honor. p. 659, 664, &c.

In the Saxon homilies of Alfric., we meet with an account of the

Such is the brief, but, as I conceive, authentic account of St. George, which we collect from the venerable memorials abovementioned, and the testimony which they afford us is, at least in some degree, corroborated by other evidence.

The institution by Constantine, of a religious order of knighthood, under the title of *St. George*, in which was borne *a red cross*, with the words εν τουτῳ νικᾶ,* may certainly be adduced as a proof

the martyrdom of St. George (under the name of Georius); he is there said to have suffered under Datianus (of whom I shall shortly have to speak again), and is called an Ealderman (or Earl) of Cappadocia; in his speech to the Emperor he says, "Georius ic eom gehaten et ic hæbbe Ealdordom on minume earthe theis gehaten Cappadocia." This title corresponds with the Κομης (of the Greek Church) abovementioned. In a MS. Martyrologium Saxonicum (D. v. in the library of Corp. Christ. Coll. Cam.) he is also called "Georius, nobilis martyr."

The title given by the Greeks to St. George (as appears indeed from some of the passages above-quoted) was that of the *Great Martyr*, and his festival is kept by them as a holyday of oblition.

In a Copto-Arabic MS. of the Life of St. George, he is said to have been of *Melitena* (in Cappadocia). See Uri's Biblioth. Bodleian. p. 327.

* See Eusebius in vita Constantini. Lib. III. cap. 8. Selden's Titles of Honor. p. 667, and Edmondson's Heraldry, vol. 1, on the orders of knighthood.

that our Saint was believed, in the time of that Emperor, to have been a christian warrior, and probably a martyr, of high rank and distinction.

The churches too which were erected in the East, in honour of St. George, are an additional evidence of the truth of what I have advanced above; two of the most remarkable of these, one at Constantinople, and another, which was built over the tomb of St. George, in Palestine, are said to have been erected by Constantine himself; another, of much distinction, was founded according to Procopius, by Justinian, in Armenia,* the ancient church at Lydda too, which was afterwards repaired by our Richard I, was dedicated to St. George, as was also that of Mangana, which, together with a monastery, was built by the Bishop of Euchaita.† The founders of these churches,

* Or as some imagine at Constantinople. The words of Procopius are *και ἱερον Γεωργιῳ τῳ μαρτυρι εν Βυζανοις εδειματο.* Περι Κτισματων Ιϐστιν. λογ. δευτ.

By *Βυζανοις* is most probably meant Bazanis in Armenia. Johan. Cotovic. Itinerar. Hierosolym. Lib. 2.

† Cedrini. Compend. Hist. p. 650.

The church or monastery of Mangana, or Manganes, was situated

as indeed appears as well from the dedications of the buildings, as from some particulars preserved respecting them, certainly attributed to St. George, the same character as that which we collect of him from the rituals of the Greeks.

That St. George *suffered at Ramel, and by the order of Diocletian*, (an opinion which rests chiefly on the authorities of Anna Commena,* Cedrinus and Baronius), is perhaps not quite so strongly confirmed as the other particulars respecting him, which I have related above. A very ancient Saxon martyrology,† as well as the fragment of which I

situated in, or near to, Constantinople; it is said that the Hellespont derived from it the name of *the arm of St. George.*

* Speaking of Godfrey of Bulloign, she says Ειτα εκειθεν το Ραμελ κατελαβεν εν ᾗ ὁ Μεγαλομαρτυς Γεωργιος μεμαρτυρηκε.

Alexiados, Lib. 8.

But Asseman (in Calend. Univers. T. VI. p. 284) and some others, are notwithstanding inclined to believe that St. George suffered at Nicomedia.

† From this martyrology the following extract is to be found in Selden's Titles of Honor. p. 672, in transcribing it I have merely changed the Saxon to the Roman character:

"On thone threo and twentigothan dæg, thæs bith Saincte Georgius

have hereafter to speak, inform us, however, that he was put to death by Thatianus, and this Thatianus, (or Dacianus, for so the word is occasionally written) has very absurdly been imagined by some to have been a Persian ;* Selden, with much greater probability, conjectured that Thatianus was a corruption of Diocletianus ; but this opinion I have little hesitation in pronouncing to be erroneous ; for in a manuscript of the fourteenth century, which I now possess, I find, among many other pieces of Latin Poetry, a very curious rimed Legend, entitled " *Passio Sanctæ Fidis virginis ;*"†

Georgius tyd, thæs ædelan martyres thone Thatianus se Casere seofan geare myd unasecgendlicum witum hyne threatode that he Crist withsoce, and he næfre hyne ofer swithan ne mihte; and æfter tham seofon gearum het he hyne beheafdian."

* It is somewhat extraordinary that this opinion should have been countenanced by the venerable Bede ; speaking of St. George, he says, " qui sub Daciano, rege Persarum potentissimo qui dominabatur super 70 reges, &c.

Bedæ martyrolog. p. 300.

† This Sancta Fides is undoubtedly the St. Faith to whom several of the English churches are dedicated, and who, by some writers, has been erroneously supposed to be St. Vedast. The opening of the legend is as follows :

Cum

in this legend the names of *Diocletianus* and of *Datianus* both occur, the latter, however, appears to be decidedly a different person from the former, as he is called "*dux missus ab Augustis*," "*Præfectus*," and "*prætor*." From the authority which is attributed to him in the poem, we clearly collect that he was the chief agent in the persecution of the Christians by Diocletian and Maximian, and this circumstance not only corroborates the account, which is already quoted from the Greek rituals, of the æra of St. George, but also strongly enforces the belief that he at least suffered under those Emperors, if not by the *express order* of either of them.

Cum rex insanus regnaret Maximianus,
Non minus insano comminante Diocletiano,
Per varias mortes sacras dampnare cohortes,
Multi certabant, Sathanæ qui sacrificabant,
Nam dicti reges Christi subvertere leges
Non desistebant; dum passim percipiebant
Plecti credentes, sua numina despicientes.
Virgo placens Christo sub tempore floruit isto,
Fides, hoc nomen et virgini contulit omen,
Quæ facie pollens, quasi stella crepuscula tollens
Inter aginenenses fuit orta, nec horruit enses
Tortoris sævi, quin spe perpetui ævi
Sustinuit pœnas, flagra, atque cateuas, &c.

The renown of St. George quickly extended itself to the West ;* and many absurd stories appear to have been added by the Roman devotees to the information which they had received from the Greeks.† The martyrology which I have men-

* Salmon's Historical account of St. George, p. 77.

Butler tells us that Clotildis, wife of Clovis, the first Christian King of France, erected altars under the name of St. George; and that Gregory of Tours, notices the high celebrity of the same Saint in France, in the sixth century.

Lives of the Saints (8vo.) vol. IV. p. 253.

Romanam Ecclesiam (says Baronius in his De Divin. Offic.) ad expugnandos fidei hostes hos præcipue martyres invocare consuevisse, Mauritium, Sebastianum, et Georgium.

† See the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine, and the Lives of the Saints, by Surius and others.

I know of no earlier record of that most famous achievement of St. George, the *Slaughter of the Dragon*, than a hymn which is contained in a very ancient composition, intitled *Horæ Beatæ Virginis secundum usum Sarum*;* the words to which I allude are-- O Georgi

* Some parts of this Manual of Prayers, &c. were doubtless used in the Saxon times: probably the work was originally collected (though afterwards enlarged) by Osmund, Earl of Dorset and Bishop of Salisbury (1078), the compiler of the Breviary, Missal, &c. *of Sarum*. The hymn to St. George is retained in the Salisbury Primer (nearly the same as the "Horæ" abovementioned) printed in 1534; the following prayer is annexed to it,

"Omnipotens

tioned above, sufficiently proves that St. George was not unknown in this country even in the time of the Saxons, but it seems to be generally admitted that he was not received as the Guardian of our nation till the period of the Crusades, when the fierce and superstitious warriors of England, most judiciously adopted, for their patron, a Saint who was not less distinguished by his valour than

O Georgi martyr inclyte,
Te decet laus et gloria,
Prædotatum militia.
Per quem puella regia,
Existens in tristitia,
Coram dracone pessimo
Salvata est.

I am not however hence inclined to infer that the story of the dragon was merely a European invention, as we learn from Pococke, that a well was in his time shewn by the Turks (who pay great respect to St. George under the title of *Cheter Eliaz)*, near to which, they informed him, our Saint had slain the dragon, which was hastening to devour the daughter of the King of Bayreut; this well is in the territory of the Druses.

See Pococke's Description of the East, vol. II. p. 91, and the Apologia Joan. Cantacuzeni. Κατα τȣ Μωαμετ. γ.

" Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui deprecantium voces benignus exaudis: majestatem tuam supplices exoramus: ut sicut in honorem beati ac gloriosi martyris tui Georgii *draconem à puella superari voluisti:* ita ejusdem intercessione hostes nostros visibiles et invisibiles (ne nocere valeant) à nobis superari concedas. Per Christum." (Suffrag. CI.)

by his piety.* The choice of the Crusaders was confirmed by the institution of the *Order of the Garter.*†

* The esteem in which St. George was held may possibly have been increased, if not caused, by his reported apparition to the Crusaders (M. Paris. Hist. Ang. p. 43), and particularly by the aid which he was supposed to have afforded King Richard, when sinking with heat and fatigue, in the fierce conflict with Saladin, on the road to Cayphas.

> On his knees he gan down fall;
> "Help (to Jesu he gan call)
> "For love of thy mother Mary!"
> And, as I find in his story,
> He saw come St. George the Knight,
> Upon a steed good and light,
> In arms white as the flour,
> With a cross of red colour.
> All that he met in that stound,
> Horse and man went to the ground.
>
> Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion.

† The council held under Langton, at Oxford, in 1222, commanded the feast of St. George to be kept, as a holyday of the lesser rank, throughout all England; under Edward III, it rose in consequence and splendour, (Barnes's History of E. III, fol. p. 536); and in the reign of Henry V. (as we learn from Walsingham) it was decreed to be a "festum duplex ad modum majoris duplicis." In the 6th of Edward VI, the festival of St. George was abolished in England as a general holyday, but so that it might be lawfully celebrated by the Knights of the order of

George, the *Arian*, or, as he has been called from the place of his birth, George of Cappa-

of the Garter; and about the same time the rules of that order were reformed, and purged from some ancient superstitions. (Fuller's Church History, B. VII. p. 412.)

Guilds or *fraternities* in honour of St. George, were certainly established in England previously to the time of Edward III. A MS. copy of the Charter of the St. George's Company of Norwich, now remaining among the records of the Corporation, begins thus,

"In the worschepe of the fader Sone and the holy goost. And of our Lady seynt Mary. And of the glorous martyr Seynt George & of alle goddes holy. There was begonne a frat'nite the yer of our Lord, a, m. CCC. XXIIII. The yer of the Regne of Kyng Richard [*read Edward*] the Seconde after the conquest XVIII. in the cathedral Churche, aforn the heie awte' [altar] aforn the Trinite on the south syde in Norwych Qwich fraternite and Gylde was in party defen'd be constitucions and ordinaunces made withinne the foreseid Cite. Qwher'fore that seeing diverse personys wel wylled & styrred to devotion of the glorious martyr foreseid soughten and porsueden with grete labor & bysynes to the kyng for grace to continue her [their] devotion & to have the name of frat'nite & gelde of brethren & sistern of Seynt George for hem & her [them and their] successors evermore withoute end to endurn. Qwherefore gracious kyng Henry the Vth considering to the good wil and devocion of the foreseide & for augmentation of more devocion of his peeple to god & to all his holy and to the glorious martyr Seynt George & to the frat'nite & Gelde, hath graunted radefied & be his letters patent confirmed that the foreseid frat'nite & gelde of brethren & sustern that arn & schul been, to ben a ppetual communite fro this

tyme

docia,* has by some writers been supposed to be the same person as the Saint of whom I have hitherto been speaking: the history of this man may be comprised in a few words: he was born of obscure parents,† but by his assiduity and obsequiousness, he obtained a profitable employment in the army, in which situation he amassed great wealth; having imbibed the opinions of Arius, he contrived, by the assistance of partisans of a similar faith, to force himself into the seat of Athana-

tyme forthward everlasting with outen eende & to have & to ber the name of frat'nite & gelde of Seint George in Norwich with outen ende."

Before the reception of St. George as the patron Saint of England, he was adopted in the same capacity by several of the Eastern Nations, particularly by the Georgians. Many orders of Knighthood too, besides that in England, have been distinguished by his name. An order of St. George was instituted in Austria, in Burgundy, in Bavaria, in Russia, in Montesa, in Rome, in Ravenna, aud in Genoa.

In conferring the honour of Knighthood, in France, the following words were used; "I make thee a Knight in the name of God and my Lord St. George, to maintain the faith and justice loyally, and defend the church, women, widows, and orphans." (Lyttelton's Hist. of Hen. II. (8vo.) vol. III. p. 165.

* Theodorit. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. 14.

† Ammianus. (Gronov.) p. 251.

sius, at Alexandria:* the power which he had thus obtained, was exercised to the worst of purposes; he not only persecuted with severity the opposers of his theological opinions, but by his illiberal conduct in other respects, he provoked a general indignation:† but the career of his violence and injustice was at length effectually checked; he was degraded, thrown into prison, and soon after massacred in a popular tumult.‡ He was exalted to the primacy of Alexandria in the reign of Constantius, and perished under Julian.§

This narrative cannot, I think, but convince every unprejudiced reader, that George the Arian was a very different person from St. George of the East; for independently of the difficulty of introducing into the Catholic calendar a heterodox army contractor, whose title to the honour of mar-

* Theodorit. as above. Socrates' Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. 23. Ammian. as above.

† Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. c. 29. Socrates and Theodorit. as above.

‡ Sozomen. as above, and Lib. V. c. 7.

Sozomen. and Socrates, as above.

tyrdom was *openly disputed* by Epiphanius,* the particulars of his life, no less than the *mode* and *period* of his death, are utterly irreconcilable, by any ingenuity, with the history of the more ancient St. George. Indeed without insisting upon any other evidence, which has been adduced on this head, the honours which, as I have stated above, were paid by Constantine to the memory of St. George, are alone a decisive proof that our Saint was celebrated as a martyr of high repute, even before the birth, or at least before the exaltation, of George the Arian.†

* Contra Hæres. Lib. III. c. 76.

† Although I trust that the circumstances which I have urged above, afford a convincing proof that George the Arian, has been most erroneously confounded with our patron Saint, yet the reader may not be displeased with my transcribing a few remarks on this point, by the learned and judicious Alban Butler. "Certain ancient heretics forged false acts of St. George, which Pope Gelasius condemned in his famous Roman Council in 494. Calvin and the Centuriators call him an imaginary Saint; but their slander is confuted by most authentic titles and monuments. Jurien. (Apol. de Reform. T. 1.) Reynolds and Echard blush not to confound him with George the Arian usurper of the see of Alexandria, the infamous persecutor of Athanasius and the Catholics. The stories of the combat of St. George with the magician

Mr. Salmon has started a new hypothesis respecting our national Saint;* rejecting with an indignation not altogether unpardonable in an Englishman, the mean and cruel George of Alexandria, he has introduced to us a *new* Saint, certainly of a much more respectable character than the one whom he discards, but whose pretensions to the honour which is claimed for him are equally ill-grounded. George of Ostia, Pope Adrian's legate to England, is the person who has attracted Mr. Salmon's attention, and whom he has endeavoured to prove, by a few fanciful arguments, to be the genuine tutelary Saint of our country: that George of Ostia was undoubtedly in England, that he was present at a council held at Cealchythe, that he much distinguished himself, by establishing, or rather by confirming, the Catholic faith among the Anglo-Saxons, and that he was every where re-

cian Athanasius, and the like trumpery, came from the mint of the Arians, as Baronius takes notice; and we find them rejected by Pope Gelasius and the other Catholics, who were too well acquainted with the Arian wolf, whose acts they condemned, to confound him with this illustrious martyr of Christ.

Lives of the Saints (8vo.) vol. IV. p. 254.

* New Historical Account of St. George.

ceived with the respect and honour due to his character, all this, I say, may be supported by authorities which cannot be reasonably questioned ;* but of his farther pretensions we have no proofs ; it appears by no means certain that he was ever canonized ; and as the martyrology of Bede (and probably the Saxon martyrology abovementioned) was composed *before* the arrival of George of Ostia in this country ;† it is abundantly plain that the St. George of the English calendar was the same as the St. George of the Greeks.‡

* Henry of Huntingdon (Savil) p. 197. Hoveden. Annal. pars prior, p. 232. Sim. Dunelm. Ann. 786.

See too, respecting the Council, Chronic. Saxon, p. 63, and Spelman. Concil. p. 291, (Edit. 1st) in the latter, *Gregorio* is printed by mistake for *Georgio*.

Among the twenty articles which George of Ostia proposed to the English on the part of the Pope, was one which is somewhat remarkable, namely, a prohibition of "*curtayling horses, and eating horses' flesh.*" Holinshed's Chron. vol. I. p. 198.

† Bede died in 735, and George of Ostia was not sent into England by Adrian till 785 or 786. Chronic. Saxon. and Hoveden.

‡ The argument drawn by Mr. Salmon (p. 106) in favour of his hypothesis, from certain churches dedicated to St. George, he has

The opinion supported by Dr. Pettingal, that St. George is merely an *allegorical* personage, I conceive to be sufficiently disproved by what has been advanced above ;* but if any doubts should remain on this head, I must refer the reader to Dr. Heylin's History of St. George,† from which he will learn that the *reality* of our Saint and Martyr is admitted by authors of all periods, from the fourth to the seventeenth century.

Mr. Byrom's still more extraordinary hypothesis, that St. George is the same person as *Pope Gregory the Great*, has been so satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Pegge,‡ that it requires no farther notice.

has himself abundantly refuted, by acknowledging that not one of them (nor any one in England) is dedicated expressly to St. George *of Ostia*.

* Fuller (in his Holy Warre, B. 1. c. 17) observes, with some humour, "it is improbable that our English nation, among so many Saints that were, should chuse one that was not, to be their patrone; especially seeing the world in that age, had rather a glut than famine of Saints."

† P. 161.

‡ Archælogia, vol. v. p. 14, &c. The Saxon martyrology, before noticed (in C. C. Coll. Cam.) distinguishes the feast of Gregory the Great, from that of St. George.

I have now to speak of the fragment of which I propose to give a literal translation; the original of it is written in the Franco-Theotish language, and is annexed to the Vatican manuscript of Otfrid's Francish Gospels:* it is printed with a Latin translation and notes (by Sandvig) in the Symbolæ ad Literaturam Teutonicam of Suhm; I have omitted some lines which were defective or unintelligible, the rest is as follows:—

George went to judgment,
With much honour,
From the market-place,
And with a great multitude (following him);

* This is said, by some, to be the oldest Gothic or German version extant; and if such be the case, it must have been made before the middle of the fourth century, as the version of Ulphilas is nearly of that time.* But Otfrid is placed by others in the ninth century. With respect to the date of the inserted fragment, Sandvig observes, "Otfrido non admodum junius esse, cuivis ex lingua et constructionibus apparet, dialectus tamen differt, Otfridiana multum durior, et magis ad illam accedens, quæ in fragmento Isidori regnat." (Symb. ad Lit. Teut. p. 438.)

* Marsh's Translation of Michaelis' Introduction to the N. T. vol. II. p. 131.

He proceeded to the Rhine
To (perform) the sacred duty,
Which then was highly celebrated,
And most acceptable to God.
He quitted the kingdoms of the earth
And he obtained the kingdom of heaven;
Thus did he do
The illustrious Count George;
Then hastened all
The Kings, who wished
To see this man entering,
(But) who did not wish to hear him.
The spirit of George was there honoured,

The Rhine.] It appears doubtful whether the original word should be translated "the Rhine," or "a place of judgment;" if it means the former, it gives us some information respecting St. George, of which we have elsewhere no hint, and it may serve perhaps to support a conjecture that the zeal of St. George had prompted him to pass from the East into Germany, and thence into England, and that he had been there known as an early propagator of the Christian faith. I am more inclined however from the sequel of the poem to accept the interpretation of "a place of judgment."

Count.] It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that in giving this title to St. George, the writer of the fragment agrees with the Greek rituals.

I speak truly from the report of these men,
(For) he obtained
What he sought from God.
Thus did he
The holy George.
Then they suddenly adjudged him
To prison;
Into which with him entered
Two beautiful Angels
* * * * *
Then he became glad
When that sign was made (to him);
George there prayed;
My God granted every thing
To the words of George;
He made the dumb to speak,
The deaf to hear,
The blind to see,
The lame to walk,
* * * * * *
Then began the powerful man
To be exceedingly enraged;

Sought from God.] I presume miraculous powers, or the glory of martyrdom.

Tatian wished
To ridicule these miracles;
He said that George
Was an Impostor.
He commanded George to come forth,
He ordered him to be unclothed,
He ordered him to be violently beaten
With a sword excessively sharp.
All this I know to be altogether true;
George then arose and recovered himself;
He wished to preach to thoſe preſent,
And the Gentiles
Placed George in a conspicuous situation.
(Then) began that powerful man
To be exceedingly enraged,
He then ordered George to be bound
To a wheel, and to be whirled round;
I tell you what is fact;
The wheels were broken in pieces;
This I know to be altogether true;
George then arose and recovered himself.
He there wished (to preach)—the Gentiles
Placed George in a conspicuous place.

Tatian.] This name agrees with the Thatianus of the Saxon martyrology.

Then he ordered George to be seized
And commanded him to be violently scourged;
Many desired he should be beaten to pieces
Or be burnt to a powder.
They at length threw him into a well;
There was this son of beatitude,
Vaſt heaps of stones above him
Pressed him down;
They took his acknowledgment;
They ordered George to rise;
He wrought many miracles,
As in fact he always does.
George rose and recovered himself;
He wished to preach to those present.
The Gentiles
Placed George in a conspicuous place.

* * * * * * *

* * * * * * *

They ordered him to rise,
They ordered him to proceed,
They ordered him instantly to preach;
Then he said
I am assisted by faith,

His acknowledgment.] I presume this only means they discovered he was living.

(Thus he said) when
Ye renounce the devil
Every moment * * *
* * * * * * * *

This is what Saint George himself may teach us.
Then (he was permitted) to go into the chamber
To the Queen;
He began to teach her,
She began to listen to him—

The fragment here terminates; it is certainly not without its due portion of the incredible, and the absurd; but as it is of great antiquity, as it has hitherto been almost unnoticed, and as it tends so strongly to confirm some of the particulars respecting St. George, which we gather from the Greek rituals, I trust that it will not be deemed totally unworthy of attention.

The Queen.] The Queen spoken of above is probably that Alexandra (the supposed wife of Diocletian) who has been canonized by the Romish Church; this lady is reported to have been converted by St. George to the Christian faith, and to have suffered martyrdom with her teacher; in the celebration of her feast-day, some honours were also paid to St. George. A further account of Alexandra may be found in the Passionale Lubicense; but Butler has not honoured her with a place in his Lives.

Having no inclination to extend my enquiry here into all the idle legendary tales of which St. George is the hero,* and from which, as they are chiefly of a *later* date than the service-books of the Greeks, and little else than repetitions of each other in all *material* points, no information, I conceive, could be extracted, which would prove more satisfactory than that which I have adduced above, I shall conclude this essay with observing, that the *red cross*, which is usually attributed to St. George for an armorial bearing, was possibly adopted from the institution of Constantine's order of knighthood, which I have already mentioned; that the figure of the same Saint *armed and on horseback*,† expresses his martial character, and was introduced by the Greeks at a very early period; that the *dragon* which he is depicted as slaying, is generally,

* I cannot, however, but copy the spirited address by which he is said to have provoked the rage of Diocletian: "Et ego, inquit, O imperator, sum Christianus; miror autem tanto in idolis colendis errore vos detineri, et æternum et viventem Deum ignorare, qui et ipsum hoc regnum tibi, O imperator, dedit.

Vitæ Sanct. potiss. ex Surio collect. Aprilis XXIII.

† "St. George's sorrel, and his cross of blood."

Hall's Satyres.

and I believe justly, deemed to be the symbol of Paganism; and that the figure of *a young woman kneeling* by St. George, which is frequently met with in paintings and carvings, was either designed as a type of some city or province imploring his aid, or may have been rather intended to represent the damsel whom he is reported to have so gallantly saved from destruction.

SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF ENGLISH POETRY.

THERE is no reason to suspect that any poetry existed in Britain previous to that of the *Cimbric* or *Celtic* bards; the date of their most ancient compositions we seek in vain, as the *origin* of the bardic system is entirely obscured by its profound antiquity.*

During the period in which a large portion of

* I trust I shall be excused for referring such of my readers as may be interested in this subject, to a short dissertation, which I have thrown into a note, in the last edition of my Poems, p. 109. The precise time at which the Cimbri emigrated into Britain is certainly yet undetermined; but I have been able to collect a variety of proofs of their *Eastern* origin, and several particulars of the progress of the Celts from the shores of the *Euxine* to the western extremity of Europe.

Britain was possessed by the *Romans*, the inhabitants certainly imbibed some tincture of Roman literature, and Roman arts: rhetoric was a study to which the British youth are said to have been much devoted;* but as the bards were still the chief, if not the sole composers of poetical pieces, and as the religious opinions of these men, no less than their extreme hatred to their conquerors, effectually deterred them from any attempt at imitating Roman productions, the character and spirit of our national poetry still remained unchanged.

When England was subdued by the *Saxons*, the Britons chiefly retired into Cornwall and Wales; and a portion of them thence fled into Armorica, a country which had before received British Colonies in the time of Constantine and of Maximus;† the name of this district was soon after changed to Britany,‡ and its language, which nearly resem-

* Tacitus. Vit. Agricol. xxi.

† See Camden's Chapter on Armorica (in his Britannia), Milton's History of England, and Fuller's Church History (B. i.) p. 25.

‡ Camden, as above.

bled that of Wales, received the appellation of Bas-Breton.

The national poetry of England was now cultivated only in Armorica, in Wales, and in such parts of Britain as had not yet yielded to the Saxon arms; while the country which the invaders had subdued, received, with its conquerors, the *Scandinavian* poetry.

The poetry of the Scandinavians is not without its pretensions to antiquity; their war-songs are noticed by Tacitus,* and are probably of a much earlier date than the time in which that writer flourished; most of their mythological poems are admitted to have been written soon after the time of Odin, of whose æra, however, various opinions are entertained; but he is by none fixed at a later period than the fourth century: Sæmund's, or the more modern Edda,† is not believed to have been composed till after the year five hundred.

* De moribus German. III.

† A great part of this work, however, consists of verses *collected* by Sæmund.—See the Dissertation prefixed to the Edda Sæmundar Hinns Froda (Hafn. 1787) p. XXXIX.

The Saxons not only introduced into England their Eddas, their Sagas,* and other pieces of Runic verse,† but to them they soon after added new productions; these pieces chiefly consist of moral rhapsodies, scriptural histories, or religious invocations; several specimens of early Anglo-Saxon poetry have been published by Hickes; some remains of Cædmon, a Saxon poet of high repute, are to be found in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica; Saxon translations (supposed by Alfred) of the verses of Boethius are also extant; the song

* Many specimens of these compositions have been preserved by Snorro, Torfæus, and Bartholinus.

† Although the poetry of the Britons (as I have before observed) may be traced much farther back than that of the Scandinavians, yet the more celebrated Welsh bards, as Taliessen, Llywark Hen, and Aneurin, did not flourish before the sixth century.

Various kinds of poetry, as hymns, elegies, heroic songs, satires, &c. are to be found among both the nations of whom I am speaking; *rime* also was common to them both; by the Welsh it was used, I believe, *always;* by the Scandinavians *rarely*, as they wrote in a vast variety of measures, in which alliteration, and other tricks of construction, rendered rime less necessary; Egill's Ransome (p. 92, of Five pieces of Runic poetry) is one of their most celebrated rimed productions; rime also occasionally occurs in the Dying Ode of Regner Lodbrog.

on Æthelstan's victory is well known, and is a production of much merit; a conveyance of Edward the Confessor's, and a very ancient description of the Bath waters,* both of which are composed in *rime*, are particularly curious.†

Such are the more remarkable, though scanty, remains which have yet been published of the Anglo-Saxon school.

It may not be improper to observe that during the period of which I have now been speaking, some of the more learned Anglo-Saxons, as Adelme,‡ Bede, Boniface, and others, composed

* Cooper's Muses Library, p. 1 and 3; probably the spelling in these pieces has been somewhat modernized.

† The Scalds of the Continent occasionally visited England after it was subdued by the Saxons and Danes, and there produced verses which were received with much applause; Egill was in high favour with Æthelstan; and many poems have been preserved, which were composed by Sighvatr, Ottar, and the other Scalds who attended Canute; the verses of these men cannot, however, be considered, with strict propriety, as works of the Anglo-Saxon School, but rather of the *Scandinavian or Runic*, from which indeed that school immediately sprang.

‡ This writer was of the royal family of Wessex, and Bishop of Sherburn; he flourished about 705, and is said to have been the first

several poems in the *Latin* tongue;* those which have hitherto been published have little to allure, and are often disgusting from the absurd and fanciful species of versification which is introduced into them; but from this censure I would wish to except several passages in the Latin poetry of *Alcuin*,† and more especially his pleasing and

first Anglo-Saxon who composed in Latin verse; he applied to himself these lines of Virgil:

Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.

Fuller's Church History (B. II.) p. 95.

* Some of the abovementioned writers, as Boniface and Adelme, occasionally used *rime* in their Latin verses. The earliest specimens of modern Latin rimed verse with which we are acquainted, are to be found in the works of Pope Damasus, who is placed in the fourth century, and in the poem of Saint Austin against the Donatists, composed about the same period. Mr. Turner observes (in his learned dissertation in the XIV. vol. of the Archæologia) that rime has been in some instances used by the Greek and Roman poets; he asserts that the word rhime (or rime) is derived to us from the Franco-Theotisc "irrimen" "congruere," or possibly from the Saxon "riman" "to sing" or "gedrym," melody.

† It is scarcely necessary to say that this distinguished and accomplished Englishman was the pupil of Bede, the friend of Charlemagne, and the instructor of France.

Quid

pathetic lines on quitting his monastery; this little poem cannot but be deemed a great literary curiosity, when we reflect upon the general ignorance and barbarity of the age in which he lived.

The settlement of the *Danes* in England, produced but a slight effect either upon the language or the poetry of the nation; the specimens of Dano-Saxon verses which are preserved by Hickes, strongly resemble the purer Anglo-Saxon poems, both in dialect and in matter.*

At the Norman conquest, however, the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and of course the Anglo-Saxon poetry, were anxiously discouraged; Talliefer and Berdic, the minstrels of the Conqueror, accompanied their master to England, and Norman poetry was

> Quid non Alcuino, facunda Lutetia, debes?
> Instaurare bonos ibi qui feliciter artes,
> Barbariemque procul solus depellere cœpit.
>
> (From Camden's Britannia.)

The poem to which I have alluded above, was published in the works of Alcuin, by Du Chesne (at Paris, 1617), and has been lately reprinted by Mr. Turner, though not so correctly as could be wished, in his History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. IV. p. 370.

* Some of these pieces are rimed. Hickes's Thesaurus, p. 222, &c.

consequently introduced. Philip de Than, who lived in the time of Henry I, and who was the author of the Liber de Creaturis, appears to have been the first poet in England who composed in the Norman tongue; his example was followed by Nantueil, by Gaimar, and by Wace; the Brut of this latter writer was finished about 1155, and was rimed; other writers might be enumerated who composed their poetical works in the Norman dialect; but it is enough to observe, that the *pure Norman* school of poetry seems to have prevailed from the reign of the first to that of the second Henry, although at a much later period we meet with some writers, as Grosthead,* John Hovedon, and others, who still continued the use of the French tongue in their poetical compositions.

To the Norman succeeded the *Anglo-Norman* school; in this the Saxon dialect was preserved, but with an uncertain mixture of Norman words;

* Robert Grosthead, or Grostest, Bishop of Lincoln (in 1235), is thus quaintly described by Pits; "Vir crassi quidem capitis, sed subtilis ingenii, magni cerebri, majoris judicii." He was an author of high celebrity, and besides many Latin and Norman poems, he is said, by Fuller to have written no fewer than three hundred treatises.

the first writer of this school was Lazamon, who translated Wace's Brut ;* the author of the Land of Cockayne is another composer of the same class, though the Saxon prevails more in his composition than in the work of Lazamon. Robert of Glouceſter, Manning, Davie, Longland, and a few other writers, constitute the remainder of this school.† The favourite materials of the poets, both of the Norman and Anglo-Norman schools, were the tales of *Chivalry* and *Romance ;* this species of writing, if not invented in Armorica,‡ was

* The translation is chiefly in rime. The poems of the later Norman writers were frequently translated into the vernacular tongue; and some verses remain which are partly composed in the French, and partly in the English of the time. A song to the holy Virgin begins thus,

Mayden mother mild, oyez cel oreyson,
From shame thou me shelde, e de ly mal feloun ;
For love of thine childe, me mener de tresoun,
Ich was wode and wilde, ore su en prisoun, &c.

† Several extracts from the Lives of the Saints, as well as from many other of the smaller pieces of the Anglo-Norman school, may be seen in Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 12, &c.

‡ A very skilful examination of the theories which have been advanced respecting the origin of romantic fiction, will be found in

thence imported into England, and chiefly through the medium of the Normans. The minstrels of William the Conqueror,* who sang to his troops the animating praises of Charlemagne and Roland, may justly be considered as the earliest introducers of the strains of Romance, and the subsequent acquisition of the Exploits of King Arthur, of the Geste of King Horne, of Turpin's Charlemagne, and of many works of a similar kind, propagated a very general admiration of that species of composition, and excited in the poets of the time, an eager desire to translate, or to imitate, productions of so fascinating a kind.†

in Ellis's Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, vol. I. p. 27, &c. Scott's Introduction to Sir Tristram, p. 47. Lib. 7, &c. may also be advantageously consulted on this subject.

* Wace (in a MS. Historical Poem in the Cottonian Library) speaks thus of Taillefer,

Devant le duc aloit chantant,
De Karlemaigne et de Rolant,
D'Olivier, et del vassals
Qui moururent es Roncevals.

† An account of several of these romances, as of Richard Cœur de Lion, of Sir Guy, Sir Degore, Hippomedon, &c. will be found in Warton's History of English Poetry, sect. IV. and V.

The

Nearly about the period in which we may fix the origin of the Anglo-Norman school, a rage for Latin composition was revived among the writers of both prose and verse; Peter de Blois, John of Salisbury,* and Joseph of Exeter,† (the loss of whose Antiocheis cannot but be greatly regretted) were peculiarly distinguished in this species of composition; and the practice was adopted, though with inferior success, by Ramsey, Necham, Essebie, and others.

The Anglo-Norman school of poetry was followed by that which I cannot better distinguish

The romances originally introduced from Armorica are supposed to have been enlarged from tales of a similar kind, and on similar subjects, which were discovered among the Welch. See Ellis's Specimens of Metrical Romances, vol. i. p. 102.

* He is called, by Pits, "Insignis Poeta, Orator eloquens;" by the desire of Becket, with whom he was intimately connected, he composed a celebrated Life, or rather Legend, of Anselm, with a view to the canonization of that Prelate.

† Josephus, omnium poetarum sui temporis, absit invidia dicto, facile primus, tantæ eloquentiæ, majestatis, eruditionis homo fuit, ut nunquam satis admirari possum, unde illi in tam barbara et rudi ætate facundia accreverit usque adeo omnibus numeris tersa, elegans, rotunda."

Io. Leland. Comment. in Script. Brit. p. 236.

than by the denomination of *English*: of this school Chaucer is the acknowledged father;* in the language of this writer we meet indeed with a greater abundance of Norman words than in the compositions of his immediate predecessors; but the eminence of his productions fixed with tolerable stability that mixture of French and Saxon, which was to constitute the basis of the English tongue; and although it cannot be denied that many of the words which he has used are now become obsolete, yet the general structure of our language has never been materially changed since the period in which he wrote.

The followers of Chaucer, or the race of poets of the English school, are exceedingly numerous, and may be considered, without impropriety, as descending to our own times; but although it would be difficult, if not impossible, to form any very accurate classification of these writers merely from the varieties which occur in the *language* of their compositions, yet some *general* distinction of

* It ought not to be unnoticed, however, that Gower, notwithstanding his earlier poems were composed in French, finally laboured, both with diligence and success, to reform the irregularities of his native dialect.

them may still be established from an attention to the *models* which have been the favourite objects of their imitation.

The first traces, which can be discovered in English poetry, of an imitation of the Italian writers occur, I believe, in the works of Chaucer; his example, however, does not appear to have been *generally* followed till the days of Elizabeth;* at this period Spenser, and a few of his contemporaries, established a school of poetry, which has been highly and justly celebrated under the title of *Italian*.

Among the fathers of the Italian school, a distinguished place must be allotted to Edmund Fairfax, who was deemed, by Dryden, to be, in point of harmony, superior to Spenser himself; as an original poet, indeed, he is not peculiarly eminent; but his exquisite translation of Tasso's Jerusalem,†

* Wyatt and Surrey, however, (in the reign of Henry VIII.) were professed imitators of Petrarch.

† This work appears to have speedily gained the popularity to which it is so justly entitled; and it is much to the credit of the taste of Charles the first, that he found great solace, in his hours of confinement, from the perusal of Fairfax.

is hardly surpassed by any poetical composition in the English language.

From the time of Spenser, to that of Dryden, some marks of the imitation of Italian writers, or their followers, may be traced in most of our poets of note. Shakspeare, indeed, borrowed little more than the fables of his plays from any writer, but in his sonnets he has certainly adopted the taste of his age; Jonson, on most occasions, adhered closely to the Roman models; and Milton was formed no less upon the ancient, than the Italian school; but the whole race of metaphysical poets, beginning with Donne, and ending with Cowley, were decided imitators of the absurd conceits, the fatiguing allegories, and the profuse description of Marino.

Dryden forms a new æra in our poetry; although he retained some of the Italian materials, yet his taste and versification were principally formed by the study of French writers;* this

* I cannot refrain from expressing the high admiration with which I contemplate the happy union of harmony and vigour, that pervades the poetry of Dryden; from no other writer can we derive an *equally* strong idea of the majesty, force, and sweetness,

great man then, together with Pope, and the rest of his imitators, constitute a school which may be termed, with sufficient accuracy, the *French* school.*

Although the tales, as well as the mythology, of Greece and Rome, had long since served to decorate the poetry of England,† and although the most splendid and graceful imitations of the an-

sweetness, of the English tongue; and I do not hesitate to add, (nearly in the words which a great critic has used in commending the prose of Addison) "that whoever wishesto acquire a skill in English versification, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Dryden."

* It is scarcely necessary to observe, that in endeavouring to establish a convenient classification of the English poets, I by no means intend to assert that *every* poet who lived in the periods of which I am speaking, can, with propriety, be included in the school which generally prevailed in his age; thus about the time in which the French school was established, the celebrated Butler appeared, whose claim to a perfect singularity of manner, must be universally admitted; and at a later æra were produced the Night Thoughts of Young, and the Seasons of Thompson, both of which are decidedly characterized by a striking originality.

† Translations from the Greek and Roman writers abounded in the time of Elizabeth; the Queen herself translated, into blank verse, a portion of the Hercules Oetæus, of Seneca.

cients had distinguished the works of Milton, yet a taste for the classical forms of composition never seems to have so generally prevailed in England, as when it was awakened by the animating productions of Collins and Gray; these writers then may be properly deemed the founders of a *Greek* school.

As the works of this school, however, can only be highly relished, or well imitated, by those who have acquired some tincture of learning, it cannot be reasonably expected that they should ever be very popular, or very abundant; and although the taste for compositions formed on the ancient models is far from being extinct, yet that species of writing has lately received a powerful check from the loud, and almost universal, applause, which has been won by the translators and imitators of the German writers.

The novelty, the extravagance, and the pathos of the *German* school were not ill calculated to produce a vehement effect on the minds of the English, whose taste has been perhaps, in some degree, injured by their ardent, and very laudable, affection to their great national poet; and even

the caricatures of his excellencies and defects (for such are many of the works of which I am speaking) were consequently received with no ordinary delight. The reputation, however, of the German school, is already in its wane;* the enthusiasm, which it awakened, has been abashed by the strictures of sound criticism, and by the sneers of well-directed ridicule; and we may now indulge a hope that the Garden of English Poesy will soon be watered by the streams of a purer Hippocrene.

* I can hardly be understood to deny that *some* works of merit may be discovered in the vast farrago of productions to which I am here alluding; none of them, however, appears to be entitled to such high and unqualified praise, as the translation of Goethe's "Iphigenia in Tauris;" but this interesting and beautiful drama is composed upon the *Greek* model.

HINTS ON

ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.

IT is greatly to be regretted that the Architectural work which had been planned by Gray and Mason, should never have been brought to perfection; that work, it seems, would have been composed of a *series of drawings* illustrative of English Architecture, in all the most remarkable periods of its progress, and of observations upon those drawings, tending to *establish certain criteria*, by which the age of any building in Britain, or of the parts of such building, might readily have been determined with accuracy.*

* See Mason's Edition of the Poems of Gray, with Memoirs of his Life and Writings, vol. IV. p. 145, &c. (1778).

A treatise of a similar kind, although much inferior to that which might have been expected from the united talents and skill of Gray and Mason, would doubtless be highly acceptable, and could not but greatly facilitate the acquisition of architectural knowledge, which is now to be sought for in a variety of unconnected works, many of which are certainly performances of great and deserved reputation, but from which, as they commonly illustrate only some *particular building*, and as they frequently abound with theoretical enquiry, it is by no means easy to select in abundance such remarks as may assist us in forming a general system of English Architecture.

From having experienced some inconvenience from the want of such a manual as that of which I have just been speaking, I have endeavoured to sketch out from the writings of others, and from the observations which I have been able to make myself, a general view of those classes into which the structures, or remains of structures, in this Island, may be conveniently distributed; and under each of these divisions I have noticed, where necessary, the kinds of buildings, &c. which may

be properly included in it, and *some* of the more remarkable peculiarities, by which the structures of that class, or age, are commonly distinguished.

The Memoranda (for they can be deemed little more) which I have thus collected and arranged, I am now induced to offer to the public, by the wish to explain more fully the species of performance which I have been recommending in the preceding pages, and by the hope that, till a more copious and finished work of the same kind shall appear, the following Hints may not be totally unwelcome.*

* Soon after the first publication of this Essay, I had the satisfaction of finding that, in a sketch of the periods and characteristics of our *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, (introduced into a very useful and ingenious tract, entitled a Guide to the Collegiate Church of Ely,)* the division of Æras which I had adopted, had been generally followed, and several criteria of them had been judiciously added to those which I had previously noticed; and I cannot but entertain a hope that the attention which many of our most intelligent antiquaries are now directing to English Architecture, together with the activity which has lately been shewn

* Republished in 1807, with plates, and with the title of "a Description of the Cathedral Church of Ely."

shewn by some of our most distinguished architectural draftsmen,* will speedily bring to perfection the plan that I have ventured to press upon their notice.

* I particularly allude to that splendid and comprehensive work, "The ancient Architecture of England," by Mr. Carter, and to the very elegant and instructive Series of Architectural Engravings, by Mr. Britton.

HINTS ON

ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.

ANCIENT BRITISH.

THE old British or Celtic remains consist of caves, hiding-places, hill-fortresses, stones of memorial, circles of memorial, ruins of Druidical dwellings, Druidical circles, (viz. astronomical, juridical, and places of worship), Druidical altars, cromlechs (or altars for human sacrifices), barrows,* cairnes (or sepulchral heaps of stones),

* Mr. Strutt is inclined to believe that *all* the barrows which we find in this country, are *not* British. Some he conceives to be Roman, and others to be Saxon or Danish; the former, he thinks, are distinguished by being situated near Roman ways or stations, and by containing urns of handsome workmanship, Roman instruments, and Roman coins. The Saxon and Danish barrows

kistvaens (or sepulchral stone caves), Logan, or rocking-stones, Tolmen, or bason-stones; towers of stone, in imitation of those of the East; generally single* and round; situated occasionally on rocks, or some eminence, and consisting of three stories, with a dungeon beneath; the upper stories contained sometimes a chamber or μυχος, besides a larger apartment; store-closets, a passage, and stairs, in the walls; loops, and *one* or more small windows in the upper part of the tower; chimnies and hearths in the rooms; a flight of steps on the outside of these buildings led to their entrance, which was at a considerable height from the ground; the walls were very thick. *Duns*—similar buildings to the last, but smaller, conical, and without mortar.

barrows he is unable to ascertain with equal precision, but he believes that they are marked by inclosing *unburnt* skeletons and warlike implements.

See the Horda Angel-cynnan, vol. I. p. 63.

* The round keep, however, of Launceston Castle, Cornwall, which is of very great antiquity, is protected by an encircling wall and parapet.

King's Muniment. Antiq. vol. III. p. 9.

At a later period, probably from about the year 300 to 400, the inhabitants of Britain not only continued to build structures of a similar kind, but they also imitated the Roman works; their fortresses were at this time occasionally angular, surrounded by one or more walls, and in the area were offices for attendants; a postern was added; no machicolations. The *arch* was now borrowed from the Romans, but the British arch was coarse, and the key stone not inserted with accuracy.

ROMAN.

From the Conquest of Britain by the Romans to 422.

The remains of Roman architecture in Britain, besides their celebrated *walls* and *roads*, are chiefly the following: Castra of a regular oblong shape, with the Decuman (or larger) and Prætorian (or smaller) gate of entrance at the opposite extremities of the camp, with two other gates (the principes) opening on opposite sides into the middle of the camp; a vallum, or double vallum, and

foss; towers in the walls, and generally at the gates of entrance; the walls of the castra were usually composed of strata of Roman bricks (which are very hard, large, and thinish), and of strata of flints cut, and very regularly placed, or of other stones; the whole cemented by a strong mortar. Remains of the Prætorium are often to be traced.

Besides the castra, we find among the Roman remains, a few fragments of temples, amphitheatres, villas, and baths, (in some of which portions of hypocausts have been discovered); tessellated pavements, relievos, and statues, generally much injured, small votive altars with inscriptions, and monumental stones.

Few Roman arches remain in Britain, and some of them are rudely executed, but others with much exactness.*

* For several of the above particulars I have to acknowledge my obligations to the Munimenta Antiqua of Mr. King; and I cannot but express an earnest hope that the lamented loss of the author of that most profound and scientific performance, may not deprive us entirely of his promised, and doubtless most valuable remarks on the *Ecclesiastical* structures of this country.

SAXON.

From about 450 *to* 1066.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.*

Before I speak of the criteria by which the Ecclesiastical buildings of the Saxons were distinguished, a few remarks upon the structure of ancient Churches may be admitted without impropriety.

The earliest Christians of the East, and especially those of Judea, celebrated divine worship either in subterranean apartments, or in those private oratories or *uppermost* rooms, which by an ancient national custom were frequently appropriated to religious purposes. At a somewhat later period, in the course of the second and third centuries,

* In the following divisions I have adopted, to a certain extent, the classification recommended by T. Warton; a writer, whose depth of antiquarian research would be still more palpable, were not our attention so frequently diverted from it, by the elegance of his taste, and the graces of his diction.

"The Muses, at thy call, would crouding come
"To deck Antiquity with flow'rets gay."

several Christian temples or churches were erected, the greater part of which appear to have suffered much, or to have been totally destroyed in times of persecution. When Christianity, however, was established by Constantine, Imperial Rescripts were sent to the governors of his provinces, directing them to use their utmost endeavours in repairing, enlarging, or constructing Christian Churches; the form and ornaments of Churches of this æra were afterwards adopted (at least to a certain extent) in the erection of our religious buildings, and are nearly thus described by the author of that amusing and instructive work "The Ornaments of Churches considered."* "The form of them was in a manner resembling that of the Greek and Roman Temples or Courts of Justice; the figure of a cross which sometimes occurs in them, was not destitute of a foundation in principles of reason, though a peculiar allusion might be intended by it to the sufferings of our Saviour. The entrance into them was commonly by an *outward Court*, in which was a *Baptistery or Font*, and sometimes the sepulchres of martyrs; it was

* P. 77, &c.

environed with a wall to which *Cloysters* and other buildings frequently adjoined; this yard led to a spacious lofty *Portico*, into which only, or some inclosure near it, Penitents, Catechumens, and unbaptized heathens were admitted." In the front were three doors, the largest opening from the portico into the Ναος or *Nave*, and the other into the side εμβολοι, alæ, or *aisles*, which seem to have been appropriated to the females. In the upper part of the Ναος, corresponding to the division in the Jewish temple, was the *Chancel*;* here was placed the *Communion table*, or *altar*,† and in this

* So called from the *Cancelli*, or lattices, by which it was originally separated from the body of the church, and which were afterwards improved into highly ornamented *Screens*.

In some of the Eastern Churches, the Chancel was terminated by a *semi-circular* wall, and in those instances in which its exterior wall was straight, it seems to have been uniformly bounded within by a semi-circular συνθρονος, or row of benches. The extremity of the Basilicæ was also an *apsis*. See Bingham's Antiquities, vol. I. p. 287. and Ciampini, Moniment. Vet. vol. I. p. 7, &c.

† The earliest Christian altars were made of wood, that they might be the more easily removed in case of persecution. Pope Sylvester (who flourished in 335), is said to have ordered them to be constructed of stone, although he retained, as a memorial, the wooden altar of the Lateran Church.

part were seats for those whose office it was to perform the ministerial functions.* "These Churches have all suitable embellishments and decorations; according to the Grecian taste of architecture, they were particularly adorned with large and beautiful columns; in the inside what Milton calls the *high-embowed* or arched roofs, divided into several pannels, were overlaid with gold, or richly painted, or wrought with mosaic work, exhibiting a variety of representations. In vacant places select *texts of scripture* were sometimes inscribed, or portions of sacred history were delineated."†

* An imitation of these seats is still to be traced in the *Clerestories* which remain in many of our Churches.

† A similar, but fuller description of these Churches may be seen in Wheler's "Account of the Churches of the primitive Christians" p. 62, &c. from this work it should seem that the περιβολος corresponded to the modern *Church-yard.*

Eusebius has given us various particulars of the extensive and splendid Church of our Saviour, erected by Constantine, which was lined throughout with variegated marble, and the inner roof of which was completely gilt—"φωτος οια μαρμαρυγαις τον παντα νεων εξαστραπτειν εποιει.

Vit. Constant. Lib. III. c. XXXIII, &c.

Besides a minute account of the inner part of the ancient Christian Churches, the following remark on their *site*, occurs in Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. XI. p. 176. "As

Such were the Churches erected in the East soon after the establishment of Christianity by Con-

"As the ancient Christians frequently turned their faces to the east at prayers, as an emblem of their hope of a resurrection; so Churches were usually built with the high altar towards the east, and the front or great entrance to the west, as the Apostolic Constitutions direct (l. 2. c. 57.) Yet this rule admitted frequent exceptions as convenience or necessity required, as Bona takes notice (Liturg l. 1. c. 20.) Socrates observed, that in the great Church at Antioch the altar did not look towards the east, as was customary, but towards the west. (Socr. l. 5. c. 22.)"

The Churches on the Continent, at least the present Churches of Rome, vary much in the direction in which they are placed; but those of England are, I believe, uniformly constructed agreeably to the plan prescribed by the Apostolic Constitutions; they do not however all stand *accurately* east and west, but their variation in this respect is said to arise from their site having been regulated by the setting sun, on the eve preceding the Feast of that Saint to which each of them was respectively dedicated. Our forefathers entertained a strong opinion of the propriety of directing their prayers to the east. The Catechumeni, at their baptism, turned their faces to the west, when they renounced the Devil, and to the east when they pronounced the Creed; and in an old homily, used by the Priest upon the Wake-days, we find these expressions, "Crist dyed in the Este, and therefore lete us pray besely into the Este, that we may be of the nombre that he dyed for, and lete us think that he shall coome out of the Este to the doom."

The reason then for worshiping towards the east, as a Christian custom, is thus sufficiently explained, and there appears no good ground for believing with some, from the following lines of Virgil, that it was originally borrowed by Papal, from Pagan Rome:

stantine; but during a long period both before and after that æra, the religious buildings in England were certainly of a much more humble kind.*

If we may rely upon Fuller, the oratory at Glastenbury was not only the earliest Christian Church in England, but in the whole world; but whatever opinion may be formed on this head, there can be no reason for disbelieving the account

> Illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem,
> Dant fruges manibus salsas, et tempora ferro
> Summa notant pecudum, paterisque altaria libant.
>
> Æneid. XII. 172.

For although, indeed, agreeably to the above passage, a part of the worship of the ancient Romans was performed with the faces of the supplicants turned towards the east, yet we find in Plutarch's Life of Numa an express direction given by that King to adore the Gods with a *circular motion*, "κυκλον ποιων;" a custom which is also noticed by Livy, lib. v. c. XXI.

Neither was the usual site of the Christian Churches adopted from that of the Temple of Jerusalem; for, notwithstanding the resemblance between those buildings in some respects, yet in the latter, the holy of holies stood to the west, while the most distinguished gate of entrance looked towards the east. (Calmet's Dict. of the Bible; Ezekiel, XLIII. 1. 2. and the first of the Preliminary Remarks in Archbishop Newcome's Translation of that Prophet, p. 150.)

* In some places, where no Church had been erected, our ancestors were satisfied with performing divine service under a *Cross*. See Staveley's History of Churches, p. 102.

which is given by that author of its structure and size. "It was," says he, "in length sixty foot, and twenty-six in breadth, made of *rods watled* or interwoven."* This mode of building (which was by no means confined to religious structures) prevailed much among the Britons during some centuries,† and we may consequently infer, that most of the Christian Churches which were erected by them previously to the Saxon conquest, were of a similar conformation.‡

At the settlement of that people in England, the custom of building with wood still continued, but *timber* was now substituted for *wicker-work;* indeed the Saxon verb "getymbrian," which signifies to build, implies building with *timber.* We

* Church History of Britain, p. 7. An engraving of this very curious Church, and several authentic particulars respecting it, may be seen in Sammes' Britannia, p. 213.

† Fuller as above.

‡ "Sir James Hall of Dunglas, has with great ingenuity and plausibility, traced the Gothic order through its various forms, and seemingly eccentric ornaments to an architectural imitation of *wicker-work*, of which, as we learn from some of the legends, the earliest Christian Churches were constructed." Note to Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, 4to. p. 233.

have several instances upon record of Saxon Ecclesiastical structures of this kind. The first Saxon Church in Northumbria was of wood; so was that also in Lindisfarne or Holy Island;* of Stoke-chapel (i. e. the Chapel of *wood*) in Norfolk, we find in Spelman the following particulars: "Et deinde ivit (St. Felix) ad Shenebruinam et fecit ibi unam parvam Ecclesiam de *meremio*, quæ vocabatur per longum tempus le Stoke-Chappel, et postea fuit dedicata per prædictum Sanctum Felicem in honorem Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et sic fuit illa Ecclesia in Shenebruina secunda ecclesia illius partis Norfolciæ."†

In Greensted Church, in Essex, the most ancient part, the nave or body of the Church, was

* It appears from Ledwick's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 140, that this Church was erected by Finian, an Irishman, who was Bishop of Lindisfarne about 635, and that several ecclesiastical buildings of a similar structure, existed in his own country at this period. In the same æra too the Churches of Scotland were composed of wood; Ecclesiam, (says Hen. Hunt, lib. II.) more *Scotorum*, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque arundine texit.

† Hist. Famil. de Sharnburn, p. 189, of the Posthumous Works of Spelman, (fol.) 1727.

entirely composed of trunks of large oaks, split and rough-hewed on both sides. They were set upright and close to each other, being let into a sill at bottom and a plate at top, where they were fastened by wooden pegs. "This," says Ducarel, "was the whole of the original Church, though much corroded and worn by length of time; it is twenty-nine feet nine inches long, and five feet six inches high in the sides, which supported the original roof.*"

From the Registrum Secundum (MS.) of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, we learn that a "Sacellum Ligneum," at Elmham, in Norfolk, was the *Episcopal Church* of the See at the accession of Herbert de Losinga; a Church of stone was erected in its stead by that munificent prelate.

Even at so late a period as the beginning of the tenth century, a large church of wood was constructed at Bedesricesworth (Bury) into which the body of St. Edmund, King of the East Angles, was removed from Hoxne.†

* Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. IV. p. 452.

† Curteys Regist. Batteley, p. 124, and Abbo (as quoted by Yates in his Hist. of St. Edmund's Bury).

I am aware that it has been asserted by some writers, that several stone Churches were erected in this island by the command of Lucius the well-known Christian Chieftain, or Regulus of Britain; but although this assertion may reasonably be doubted, yet there is certainly good ground for believing that several of the Pagan *stone-temples* in Britain, were converted into Christian places of worship, either in obedience to the Edicts of Constantine, or by some of the Saxon Kings.*

* Pope Gregory the Great gave directions to Augustine and Mellitus (who, together with Laurentius, were the earliest propagators of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons) not to destroy the pagan temples, but to convert them into Christian places of worship.

The Abbey Churches of Westminster and Bath were raised on the remains of Roman Temples. Camden's Britan. Carter's Ancient Architecture, p. 8.

Similar changes may possibly have been made even in the time of Lucius. The most celebrated structure ascribed to that king, was the original Cathedral Church of Winchester, which Rudborne (Hist. Maj. Wint. lib. 1. c. 6.) informs us was 209 paces (supposed 600 feet) in length, 80 paces wide, and 92 high, and which Dr. Milner, in his excellent account of Winchester Cathedral, pronounces to have been constructed in a pure Grecian style of Architecture. Such a British building, at such an æra, is surely somewhat astonishing; the value of Moracius' authority, on which Rudborne rests, I confess myself unable to appretiate,

but

Candida Casa too (or White-church) in Galloway, which was built by Bishop Ninian, about 448, was constructed of *stone;* but this Church, together with the ancient *stone* Church of Peterborough, founded by Peada, and one or two others,* seem to be merely exceptions to the usual mode of building adopted by the Saxons of those times.

The Churches of the Saxons then were chiefly of wood till about the year 658,† when the prac-

but as we learn that two adjoining Pagan Temples, one dedicated to Concord, and the other to Apollo, were situated near to the spot on which the Church of Lucius is said to have been placed, it cannot but appear probable that one, if not both of these Temples, must have formed an important part of his building, particularly if it were of so magnificent a kind as the writers abovementioned are inclined to believe.

* A wooden Church, dedicated to St. Peter, was erected at York for the baptism of Edwin King of Northumbria, in the year 627; this Church was afterwards refounded in stone by the same monarch (Chron. Sax. p. 28) and in 628, Paulinus, after having converted to Christianity Blecca Governor of Lincoln, is said to have built a Church of stone in that city. See Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. 1. p. 161, 162.

† By confining the assertion which I have now been making to a *limited period*, I can hardly be deemed to oppose the opinion which Mr. Bentham (in his Remarks on Saxon Churches) has so ably

tice of building with stone was greatly promoted by the efforts of Wilfred, Bishop of York, and of Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Weremouth.

It has been observed, as a general characteristic, that most parts of the stone buildings of the Saxons were on a "circular principle;" round arches, imitations of the Roman ones, were used in their doors, windows, &c. in general few ornaments; no cima, ovolo, nor scotia; some zig-zag, hatchet, and other mouldings, with heads of animals, flowers, &c. but usually simple; they have occasionally, however, a grand effect, from being joined in a series of two, four, or six concentric

ably supported against Somner; for although a variety of instances are there adduced of ecclesiastical buildings of *stone* constructed by the Anglo-Saxons, yet it will be found that both the greatest number, as well as the most remarkable of them, were not erected *before the time of Wilfred and Benedict;* the occurrence of some *rare* examples of stone Churches previously to that æra is already admitted in my text. Allowing then to Bentham's learned Dissertation the full weight which it deserves, it neither appears to me, I say, to invalidate the opinion which I have stated above, nor does it weaken the persuasion, which I strongly feel, that the *parochical* Churches, at least, of the Saxons, were commonly constructed of wood, *even to the time of the Conquest.*

semi-circles, each of them resting upon side pillars. The Saxon columns are thick, and short in proportion to the span of the arch; usually cylindrical, but sometimes hexagonal, or octagonal; they have a kind of regular base and capital; the latter of leaves or volutes, and occasionally rich; the sculpture of this æra is generally rude; the windows small, single, and sometimes little more than loops; the east end of many of the Saxon Churches was semi-circular;* the roof of timber; the walls thick; no towers or steeples before the time of Edgar (959); these were generally round and massy; transepts about 970. The materials of which the Saxons usually constructed their larger Churches were (after the period abovementioned)

* The same mode of building was continued, at a somewhat later period, as in the original east ends of the Cathedrals of Canterbury, of Ely, and of *Norwich*. The establishment of this fact, with respect to the latter of those buildings, is the result of an examination recently made by the Rev. T. F. Middleton, the particulars of which will soon be given to the public.

The completely *circular* Church, of which several specimens remain in England, is supposed to be an imitation of the celebrated Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem; and was introduced into this country, by the Knights Templars, or by some of the Crusaders. (Staveley's Hist. of Churches, p. 157, 2d Edit and Britton's Architectural Antiquities, vol. I.)

rough flints or stones (except for ornamental and some inside work), cemented by a durable mortar; bricks appear to have been used occasionally, at least for pavements.*

Many of the Saxon Churches, particularly those of a later period, were covered with lead.

The bricks, and probably the mortar, used by the Saxons, were imitations of the Roman bricks and mortar.†

The art of making glass was taught to the

* I offer even this brief enumeration of the criteria of Saxon architecture with great diffidence. Although the solidity of the *military* structures of the Saxons may have occasionally withstood the ravages of time, yet the perishable materials of their *inferior* Churches, the destruction, or alteration, of their *larger* ones, and the similarity between the *earliest* Norman, and the Anglo-Saxon Church-architecture, all incline me to believe, that we have very few, if *any* remains of genuine Saxon ecclesiastical buildings, besides the crypts of some of our Cathedrals, &c.

† I am aware that it has been much doubted whether the Saxons knew the art of making bricks; but King (in his Muniment. Antiq. vol. III. p. 229) decidedly asserts that they did; and the truth of this assertion (as will appear hereafter) is corroborated by Strutt.

Saxons by glass-makers whom Benedict Biscop procured from Gaul.*

The time at which bells were introduced into our Churches is not decidedly ascertained; but they were undoubtedly used in this country in the ninth century.†

* Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. IV. p. 457. Fuller (in his Church History, p. 84) attributes the introduction of glass into England (in about the year 662) to one Benault, who must doubtless be the same person as the Benedict above-mentioned.

† Bells are usually deemed to have been invented by Paulinus, Bishop of Nola (in Campania) at the beginning of the fifth century; but this opinion is controverted by Salmuth, (Notæ in Pancirolli Res Mem. lib. II. tit. IX.) who asserts that they were employed for certain religious purposes previously to the æra of that prelate. We are informed by Bede, that they were used in Britany in the seventh century; they were thence, perhaps, brought into England; Ingulphus speaks of them as being well known in his time, and tells us that Turketul, the first Abbot of Croyland, (who died in 875) gave six bells to that Monastery.

Stow informs us (Annales p. 56) that *clocks* and *dials* were put up in our Churches by order of Pope Savianus, who succeeded Gregory the Great in 606. But this assertion, at least with respect to clocks in the present signification of the word, can hardly be correct, as it appears from Beckman's History of Inventions, (vol. I. p. 443, 449) that they cannot be traced farther back in this country than to the reign of Edward I.

Organs were admitted into our Churches at a very early period.*

The fonts of the Saxon Churches were very large, and frequently situated low; a mode of construction which is accounted for by the Saxon custom of immerging in water the whole body of the person baptized.†

The adoration, or at least the use, of sacred images, was established in England about the year 712.‡

* Lingard, in his Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church (vol. i. p. 280) asserts, that organs were probably introduced from Italy, by Theodore and Adrian, who were sent to this country by Pope Vitalian in the seventh century.

† Fonts were originally erected in private houses; but in quiet times they were placed at a little distance from the Church or Oratory; they were afterwards introduced into the Church-porch, and finally into the Church itself, as they now stand, near to its entrance.

Staveley's Hist. of Churches in Engl. p. 217.

‡ "We find it recorded by wryters that this Egwine (Bishop of Worcester in 693) had warning given to him by visions (as he constantly affyrmed before Pope Constantine) to set up an image of our Ladie in his Churche. Hereuppon the Pope approving the testifications of this Byschoppe, by his Bulles, wrytte to Bryght-

walde

Corpses were first permitted to be buried in our Churches in about 758, by Eadbert, King of

walde the Archebyshoppe of Canterburie to assemble a Synode and by the authoritie thereof to establish the use of images."

Holinshed's Chronic. vol. 1. p. 189.

The learned historian of Winchester, Dr. Milner, contends that the introduction of sacred images into this country should be fixed at a somewhat earlier period than that abovementioned. He observes, very justly indeed, (in his Account of Winchester Cathedral) that St. Gregory the Great was the avowed patron of images, and that St. Augustine preached the Gospel in England, "with a cross carried before him for an ensign, and a picture of our Saviour painted on a board;" but I know not that it can be thence inferred (contrary to the testimony of Holinshed, &c.) that the introduction of sacred images into our Churches was the immediate consequence of this exhibition; and with respect to Ina's gift to Glastenbury of silver images of the blessed Virgin and the twelve Apostles (which Dr. Milner also notices in proof of his opinion) it may be observed that as this king lived from the year 690 to 725, the gift alluded to may probably have been a consequence of that very decree which was made on this subject by Pope Constantine.

It may be worthy of remark that, about the period now mentioned, the furniture of some of the Anglo-Saxon Churches appears to have been extremely magnificent, "of the spoils," says Lingard,* "which their barbarous ancestors had wrested from a more polished people, a considerable portion was now dedicated to the service of the Deity; and the plate and jewels, which their

* Antiq. of Anglo-Saxon Church, vol. 1. p. 206.

Kent, at the request of Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

SAXON FORTRESSES.

They were commonly situated on a hill or artificial mount; they had a circular foss, narrower and shallower than that afterwards introduced by the Normans, but embracing a larger area; the

their piety poured into the treasures of the principal churches, are represented of such immense value, that it is with reluctance we assent to the testimony of contemporary and faithful historians. From them we learn that, on the more solemn festivals, every vessel employed in the sacred ministry was of gold or silver; that the altars sparkled with jewels and ornaments of the precious metals; that the vestments of the priest and his assistants were made of silk, embroidered in the most gorgeous manner, and that the walls were hung with foreign paintings and the richest tapestries. In the Church of York stood two altars, entirely covered with plates of gold and silver. One of them was also ornamented with a profusion of gems, and supported a crucifix of equal value. Above was suspended three ranges of lamps, in a pharus of the largest dimensions."

* Fuller's Church History, b. II. p. 103. But according to some writers Ethelbert II. was King of Kent at this time. Mr. Strutt however asserts that burying in Churches was prior to the time of Cuthbert, but that this prelate obtained leave of Ethelbert to have

towers, or rather castles, of the Saxons, were larger than the British; they were usually of a squarish form, sometimes with angular abutments, and sometimes running out, at their corners, in a circular shape; their walls were very thick; they had a *keep;* two or more stories of apartments not large; a dungeon; small windows above, and loops below; no chimnies, the smoke passing through the top of the room; in the oldest castles, or towers, the entrance was similar to that of the British towers, but afterwards it was even with the ground; over the door were machicolations; the main building stood in an area formed by a surrounding wall; in this were sometimes smaller towers at unequal distances; the walls were often of chalk, flint, and sand-stone mixed.

have yards annexed to Churches for the reception of the dead. Horda Angel-cynnan, vol. I. p. 66.

The practice of making vaults in chancels and beneath the altar itself, did not commence, in this country, before the year 1070. Archæolog. vol. XVI. p. 63.

SAXO-NORMAN

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

From 1066 *to about* 1200.

In this period the pillars were more massy and ornamented;* they were of different forms, but usually cylindrical; sometimes square, and often to a bulky shaft smaller pillars were united; the capitals were more decorated; a variety of mouldings were now introduced, as the nail-head, billet, nebule, fillet, frettes, &c. soffits plain; sculpture improved; some *pointed* arches have been discovered of the time of Henry I.† and Stephen, but

* Mr. Wilkins, in his valuable Essay on the Venta Icenorum, &c. (Archæolog. vol. XII. p. 159) observes, that the height of *Saxon* columns is 4 diameters, and that of *Norman* columns only 2; but however accurate these dimensions may be in many instances, yet they certainly do not apply universally; as undoubted Saxo-Norman columns remain, for instance, in Ludlow Castle, in Buildwas Abbey (Shropshire), and in Tewkesbury Church, which are at least 5 diameters in height.

† They are found in the palace of that prince at Beaumont, Oxfordshire;

the round Saxon arch was still generally retained; intersecting round arches (forming alternate pointed ones) often occur;* and series of ornamental small round arches; the roof was arched and of

Oxfordshire; others, again, remain in the Church of St. Cross, Winchester; and in the ruins of Neath Abbey, Glamorganshire, many pointed arches are to be seen, which cannot be of a much later date than 1100.

It may be worthy of remark, that, although the pointed arch is deemed to have been unknown to the Anglo-Saxon Architects, yet we find on a coin of Edward the Confessor a very perfect arch of that kind, in the supposed representation of a part of the Church of St. Edmund's Bury, rebuilt by that monarch. (See Gibson's Camden's Britan. tab. VIII.) From the known intercourse, however, which subsisted between the Confessor and the Norman Court, and from the zealous patronage which he afforded to Normans of various professions, it may well be believed that the Church abovementioned was repaired, and of course the pointed arch constructed, by workmen from Normandy.

* A beautiful row of intersecting round arches is extended across the whole west front of the Priory of the Virgin, at Castleacre (Norfolk), which was founded by William de Warren, Earl of Surrey, in 1090. *Triple* rows of them occur in Wenlock Abbey (Shropshire). But although arches of this description do not appear, I believe, upon any *building* prior to the Norman times, yet they are found on two *fonts* of *Saxon* workmanship, the one of which is in the Church of Thorpe Salvin, in Yorkshire (Archæolog. vol. XII. p. 209), and the other in that of St. Martin at Canterbury (Hasted's Kent, vol. IV. p. 494).

stone ;* the windows still narrow, but more lofty ; the walls extremely thick ; few, and generally small and strait buttresses ; diamond-shaped stone-work; rows of small arches, circles, and other ornaments, now appear on the outside of towers, &c.; stone figures over doors in mezzo-relievo ; the scale of building is larger than the Saxon, and the whole more ornamented.

NORMAN.†

From 1200 *to about* 1300.

The *pointed arch now became common*, though

* In fixing the introduction of the roof of stone at this period, I may possibly be deemed in some degree inaccurate. The fact is that roofs, or rather *ceilings*, of stone, are to be found even in a few of our *Saxon* Crypts, and that they occur frequently in gates, and such other structures of early Norman erection as have incumbent rooms, &c. to support; but though the Normans thus appear to have introduced *more generally* the mode of building of which I am speaking, yet it is certain that the inner roof of stone was added to some of our Cathedrals at a *much later* period than that specified above. The stone vaulting of Lincoln Cathedral, however, was built by Bishop Alexander soon after the year 1124. (Howlet's Views of Lincoln.)

† The reasons which induced me to adopt this term will appear in a few remarks at the close of this Essay.

the round arch was not entirely relinquished; the favourite form for some time was the lancet-shaped; the pillars were now slender in proportion to their height, though still occasionally massy; sometimes clustered, or composed of a central shaft surrounded by smaller pillars; often fluted or cut spirally; their capitals frequently rich; mouldings and ornaments, in some degree, as of the last æra, but roses, trefoils, and other combinations of leaves were much used;* pillars and spandrils more ornamented; ribbed vaulting to the roof; some nitches and statues; the windows large and divided by mullions of the plainer kinds; the east and west windows of considerable dimensions; *stained* glass

* I cannot deny myself the pleasure of copying, from the justly-celebrated "Lay of the last Minstrel," a passage which presents a very beautiful picture of the kind of architecture that I am now describing.

The darkened roof rose high aloof
On pillars lofty, and light, and small;
The key-stone, that locked each ribbed aisle,
Was a fleur-de-lys, or a quatre feuille;
The corbells were carved grotesque and grim;
And the pillars with clustered shafts so trim,
With base and with capital flourished around,
Seemed bundles of lances with garlands bound.

Canto II. 9. (5th Edition.)

abounded;* walls thinner, and occasionally strengthened by buttresses; series of low and close arch-work, sometimes with a pointed head, were often placed on the front of buildings; the towers now erected were usually square, and loftier than in the preceding æra; *spires* were introduced in 1222; flints and stones well shaped. Statues on the outside of the building.

* "The first notice of windows of a church made of coloured glass, occur in Chronicles quoted by Muratori. In the year 802 a pope built a church at Rome, and "fenestras ex vitro diversis coloribus conclusit atque decoravit." And in 856 he produces "fenestras vero vitreis coloribus, &c." This however was a sort of mosaic in glass; to express figures in glass, or what we now call painting in glass was a very different work."

Warton's Hist. of E. Poetry. vol. III. p. XXI.

The art of painting in glass Warton believes to have been brought from Constantinople to Rome before the tenth century; some contend that it was invented in the Netherlands; and all admit that it was greatly improved there. Dallaway (in his English Architecture, p. 255) asserts that painted glass was known on the continent at so early a period as the sixth century.

Glass *painted with figures* does not seem to have been common in England before the fourteenth century. The stained, as well as painted glass, used in our churches, is believed by some to have been originally introduced from Normandy; considerable quantities of it, at least, were procured from the great manufactory of that article established at Rouen. See Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 14.

ORNAMENTED NORMAN.

From 1300 *to about* 1460.

Henry the Sixth's, or King's College Chapel is the most finished specimen of the architecture of this period;* the pillars were still clustered; the windows were larger, and divided into several lights, and branched out at the top into a multiplicity of whimsical shapes and compartments; the glass was painted with *figures;* abundance of small ornamental pointed arches, and of nitches and tabernacles, with statues; pinnacles more or less adorned with leaves, &c. spiry and other ornaments increased; the shape of the arch, of which I shall speak again, often changed; the mouldings various,

* The date assigned by Warton to this celebrated Chapel is 1441; yet it is well known that, after some interruptions, it was not completely finished till the time of Henry VIII. *Parts* of it may consequently be found of a more florid style of building than that of the period in which it was begun; still, however, upon the whole, no finer model can be pointed out of that species of Norman Architecture in which, as Warton nearly expresses it, "strength was united with ornament, or substance with elegance."

as in the last æra; the mullions more complex; the roofs ribbed or groined, and ornamented with small figures, or roses; much sculpture; some painting and gilding; ceilings occasionally pannelled; screens and other ornaments of painted or carved wood appear to have been now introduced, and the doors of the larger ecclesiastical buildings at least, were fantastically carved; the towers lofty, and the outside of the building much adorned.

FLORID NORMAN.

From 1460 *to about* 1530.

Henry the Seventh's Chapel is the most perfect specimen of the architecture of this period; the style of this æra was like that of the last, but still more highly ornamented; the roofs were adorned with pendents, and with a beautiful fretwork of stone; rich and delicate carving in stone and brass; figures, statues, pinnacles, angular ornaments, treillages, and every kind of decoration, wrought to its greatest perfection, were profusely introduced.

Soon after the Norman conquest, Caen stone and Purbeck marble were employed in ecclesiastical structures; the flints and stones, which were then used, were cut and joined with somewhat more dexterity than before, at least in the exterior of buildings; and the outside of some of the churches and chapels of the last æra of Norman Architecture are extremely beautiful, particularly when formed of flint *inlaid* with stone of various shapes.*

Some portions still remain in our churches of a *very ancient kind* of pavement, composed of small, square, and very solid tiles, which greatly resemble the Roman brick in their structure and form.†

* The exterior of the Chantry Chapel of the Virgin (built in the time of Henry VII.) on the south side of St. Michael's of Coslany Church, Norwich, is a remarkably fine specimen of this species of workmanship.

† Among the oldest specimens of these bricks, or tiles, which I have hitherto seen, are some which were picked out of the ruins of the Church of Leziate, near Lynn Regis; they are of hard, red, earth; about four inches and a half square, and not more than one inch thick; their upper surface, which is of a pale yellowish hue, is glazed, and on one of them several

Saxon,

Even in the time of the Saxons some coarse *painting* and *staining*, and *painted figures* also, were introduced into their religious buildings;* this practice was continued by the Normans, and the walls of most of our churches, chantries, &c. till the period of the reformation, were decorated with paintings or drawings of our Saviour, of the

Saxon, or (as I presume they would be called by many) Langobardic letters are clearly impressed. Not only letters, lozenges, flourishes, &c. are often to be met with on the kind of tiles which I am now mentioning, but some of them afford us a decisive chronological mark, by being adorned with the *arms* of the founders of the respective churches to which they belong. On a tile brought to me from Neath Abbey (Glamorganshire), are still distinctly to be seen *three Rests*, or *Clarions*, the arms of Richard de Granville, the founder of that Monastery. This tile can hardly be less than seven hundred years old, as Richard de Granville was one of the twelve knights who accompanied Fitz-Hamon in his conquest of Glamorganshire.

* The Church of Weremouth was ornamented with pictures of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and of the visions in the book of the Revelations, by its founder St. Bennet Biscop, as Bede expressly says, in his History of the Abbots of that Monastery." (Historical and Critical Account of Winchester, Cath. p. 9.); and in the council of Celichyth held under Wolfred (in the year 816) a decree was made that the Saint to which each Church was dedicated should be somewhere painted therein. (Spelman. Concil. p. 328).

Virgin, or of the Saint to whom the building was dedicated.

We still find occasionally in our Churches the remains of a *rood-loft*, and of the *stairs* which led to it. "The rood," says Staveley,* "was an image of Christ upon the cross, made generally of wood, and placed on a loft made for that purpose, just over the passage out of the Church into the Chancel; this rood was not complete without the images of the Virgin Mary, and St. John, one of them standing on the one side, and the other on the other side of the image of Christ; in allusion to John, xix. 26."

Pews† were unknown in our parochial Churches

* History of Churches in England, p. 199,

† It is earnestly to be wished that our Churches were as free, as those of the Continent, from these vile incumbrances. The warmth, which is afforded by them, might be more efficaciously and cheaply obtained by double doors, or by stoves. They are not only grievously injurious to architectural effect, and frequently conceal, or deface, the venerable monument and the sepulchral tablet, but they also give rise to petty jealousies and disputes, very discordant indeed with the feelings which ought to prevail in us, on entering the temple of THAT BEING who "*is no respecter of persons.*"

till after the reformation; the seats consisted of benches running parallel to each other, and at right angles from each side of the Church. The patron, however, had a stall and desk in the chancel, or choir, just within the screen.

After the introduction of Christian burial into England, the bodies of the common people were, for a long period of time, interred without any other covering than that of cloth. Stone coffins were however occasionally provided for persons of note; in the time of Henry III, they were generally used, and in the reigns of Henry V and VI, they were made with necks, distinguishing the head and shoulders. Wooden chests, or tombs, were also introduced soon after the Conquest, and some of them were ornamented, on the lid, with the carved effigy of the person whom they contained; they were either placed in nitches in the walls of the Church, or sunk in a grave, and covered by a flat stone with brass plates on it. Burial in lead does not appear to have been adopted before the time of Edward I, and it then seems to have been confined to persons of high rank.

Altar-tombs, with or without crosses, &c. are as old as the Saxon æra.*

Saxon characters, or characters much resembling them,† were chiefly used in inscriptions on tombs, &c. from the time of the Norman Conquest till about the begining of the fourteenth century;‡ the Gothic letter then prevailed, and continued in use in sepulchral, and other brasses and tablatures, till about the latter end of the sixteenth century, when the Roman character was revived.§

* Strutt's Horda Angel-cynnan, vol. I. p. 66. vol. II. p. 107 109.

† They are commonly denominated Langobardic Characters.

‡ The latest inscription in the Langobardic letter, which I have been able to discover in any of the numerous churches in Norwich, is an inscription in Norman French, dated 1298, engraven on the wall which is united to the steeple of St. Mary's of Coslany, and which is much older than the rest of the church. Inscriptions in Norman French, however, are to be occasionally found of as late a date as the middle of the fifteenth century (See Weever's Funeral Monuments).

§ I have said "revived" because it may be inferred, I imagine, from the inscription on the tomb of Arthur (which was discovered at Glastenbury by Henry II.) that the Roman letters, or most of them

Before the disuse of the Langobardic letter, a small cross, prefixed to the legend of the tomb, was generally substituted to the *large Calvary* cross, which is so frequently to be seen on stone-coffins, and slabs of a very early date, particularly on those of the religious. I am not aware that the figure of a *fish* (the emblem of our *Saviour*), was ever so common upon the tombs in this country as upon those of the Christians at Rome.* It occurs, however, on some monuments of the sixteenth century; as on that of Bishop Stanley, in the Collegiate Church of Manchester,† and on that of Cardinal Pole, in Canterbury Cathedral.‡ It is said, by Prosper, to have been adopted from

them at least, had been adopted by the Britons, in the sixth century, or before that time. On the cross of Ovinus, which is mentioned in Bentham's Ely, and is deemed to be a work of the seventh century, the Roman character again occurs.

* Aringhi Roma Subterranea, tom. II. p. 259, 288, &c.

† Bentham's Ely, pl. XXIII.

‡ Dart's Canterbury, p. 170. but the paintings on the monument are now greatly decayed.

an union of the initials of the following words, Ιησους Χριστος, Θεϐ Υιος, Σωτηρ.*

The letters $A\overset{P}{X}\Omega$ are also, I believe, very rarely to be met with on sepulchral tablets in this Island. They are not unfrequent in Catholic countries, or at least in Italy, where they chiefly appear in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; an engraving, however, of a very old tablet (probably of the seventh century) in which these letters occur, may be seen in Montfaucon.† They are supposed to indicate the tombs of orthodox Christians, and evidently allude to the Apocalypse I. 8.

The letters $I\overline{H}S$, which occur in our Churches,

* The tombs of the Christians at Rome, &c. were occasionally marked by various other symbols besides that of the fish; but I know not that any of those symbols (except the *palm-branch*) were ever adopted here. Among them was Noah's Dove, the emblem of baptism; a stag, the emblem of a Christian's thirst after Christ; a lamb with a cross on its head, a shepherd carrying a sheep, both emblems of our Saviour; a ship, the emblem of the Church, an olive, a vine, &c. The monogram of Christ's name in a cross, is prior to the time of Constantine, who used it on the Labarum. (Butler's Lives, vol. x. p. 310).

† Travels in Italy, (8vo.) p. 129.

&c. are erroneously deemed to be the initials of "Jesus Hominum Salvator," as the H is an Eta, and the whole is an ancient and common contraction of the word Ιησους.

Arabic numerals were used in Britain before the middle of the twelfth century.*

REMARKS ON THE POINTED ARCH.

The earliest pointed arches, after the Conquest, deviate but little from round ones, especially when they have much weight to support ;† but we meet with ornamental pointed arches of about the middle and towards the close of the twelfth century,

* An inscription, with the date Mo. 133, was found in the Parsonage of Helendon, in Northamptonshire; and on a Roman wall, at Colchester, an escutcheon was discovered with the figures 1090. Philosophical Transactions, No. 255.

† I have already referred to some specimens of early pointed arches of this description, as to those of St. Cross. Others remain in the Crypt of York Minster, under the choir, (Halfpenny's Fragment. Vetust. pl. xx.), and in the Church of Manorbeer, Pembrokeshire. (Sir R. Colt Hoare's Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin, vol. II. pl. II. p. 415).

which are both narrow and acute,* and which indeed bear a pretty strong resemblance to the lancet-shaped arch that prevailed so generally in the time of Henry III. That species of arch was succeeded by one of an obtuser angle, and consequently of greater width; but very narrow and sharply-pointed arches occasionally occur of the time of Edward II. The arch peculiar to the reign of Edward III, is formed by two *straight* lines, rising from the supporting sides, and meeting in a point; and traces of this form, but somewhat flattened and slightly curved, appear in some of the arches of Richard II, though others of them bear a nearer resemblance to those of his immediate successors, Henry IV and V; the arches built under these Kings are peculiarly well-shaped, and those of Henry V more especially preserve a happy proportion in their breadth and height, which unites, in an extraordinary degree, both lightness and magnificence; the arch appears to have been much flattened in many of the buildings of the æra of

* Arches of this kind occur on the north side of the west front of Castleacre Priory; in the great north tower of Peterborough Cathedral; and in the tower, and its wing, of Ely Cathedral.

Henry VI, from which circumstance it derives a heavy appearance; the shape of the arches of King's-college Chapel, of the Chapel at Windsor, founded by Edward IV, and of the Chapel of Henry VII, are too well known to require any particular description.*

NORMAN FORTRESSES.

The Norman castles were larger than the Saxon ones, and usually situated on high hills; they were surrounded by one or more deep circular ditches; the spaces circumscribed by these ditches were denominated *ballia.* Some of the Norman fortresses were formed only of a keep (including its ballium), and of a base-court, surrounded by a ditch and a wall, occasionally strengthened by

* As the idea which can be conveyed of arches by description only, must necessarily be very incomplete, the reader, who is interested in this subject, might consult, with great advantage, the valuable work of Sir R. C. Hoare, which I have quoted above. In the 2d. vol. of that work, p. 413, &c. he will find very beautiful engravings of a chronological series of arches (chiefly taken from Welch Churches) from the Saxon period, to that in which the pointed arch was disused.

towers: others consisted of an upper, an inner, and an outer, ballium; in the former of these the keep was situated; the castle itself was generally of a squarish form; its walls were thick and high; a draw-bridge was annexed to it, and it was provided with a postern; its external ballium was frequently protected by a barbican; the entrance to the castle was on the ground, and was secured by a portcullis, and sometimes by machicolations, or a fenced entry; most of the buildings of which I am speaking, had hanging arches to defend their loops, and were also topped with turrets and battlements; they had at first but few windows in the lower stories; they generally contained several large rooms, as well as a chapel, and in the time of Edward I, a great hall was added to many of them; they had regular chimnies, and offices were built to them in the adjoining courts. They were more ornamented on the outside than the Saxon castles. Religious houses were often situated near them.

Such, then, are the more remarkable criteria by which the æras of our ancient ecclesiastical and

military structures may be determined, as I conceive, with tolerable accuracy.*

In the reign of Henry VIII, the Norman (or *Gothic*) Architecture began to decline, and in the

* Having concluded the remarks, which I had to offer on this subject, I hope I may here be allowed to enter my protest against, what is usually termed, the *beautifying* of Churches. This ingenious process is commonly performed, by bespattering the walls and columns of the building, with abundant and repeated showers of whitewash; by which the finer carved work, and the ancient mural inscriptions, are most successfully obliterated; by forcing the sepulchral brasses, and other tablets of the dead, to yield the places, which they had obstinately retained for centuries, to a trim, new, pavement; by overwhelming the faded splendour of the screen, and the sombre gloss of the oaken pulpit, with the more enlivening tints of yellow and of blue; by substituting a clearer glass to that which is dimmed by the armorial bearings of Founders and Benefactors, or by the gloomy forms of Martyrs and of Saints; by uniting in a close, though very unexpected concord, the most ancient and the most modern styles of building and ornament; and finally by exalting, in a conspicuous part of the Holy Fabrick, the names of those illustrious Ædiles, under whose happy ministration the pious work was brought to entire perfection. Surely the reparation of our Churches is not necessarily attended by such consequences as these; all that is to be aimed at, is simply to preserve the building and its appendages, as much as is possible, in their *original state;* to restore what is decayed; to protect what is endangered; and to prevent mischief, instead of doing it.

reigns of Elizabeth and James, the *Roman* Architecture was introduced into England in its stead.*

A full and chronological account of the changes which have taken place in the structure of the *Religious houses* of the English, as well as in that of their ordinary *Dwellings* and Mansions, would doubtless form a valuable addition to the work of which I have now been endeavouring to trace the outlines. The remarks, indeed, which have been made above, on our ecclesiastical architecture, are of course applicable to those Churches, or Chapels, which were annexed to Convents, and in some respects to the Convents themselves; still however very many particulars of their progress, from their rudest to their most finished state, remain to be discovered and arranged. Respecting these build-

* The earliest specimens of it occur, in some monuments erected in the time of Henry VIII. In the sumptuous tomb of Abbot Ferrars (1538) in the conventual Church of Wymondham (in Norfolk) we find an abundance of Ionic Pilasters and Capitals. Hans Holbein is said, by Granger, to have been "the first reformer of Gothic Architecture in England."

Biograph. Hist. of Eng. vol. I. p. 113.

ings then, as well as the domestic buildings of our ancestors (concerning which we rarely meet with more than brief and occasional hints), I have certainly not much to advance, but I am unwilling to pass them over in total silence.

OF MONASTERIES.

The Monasteries of Britain appear to have been generally constructed, during a period of several centuries, on the following plan.* Their form was quadrangular; the Conventual Church was situated on the north side of the quadrangle; from its south transept was extended a series of rooms, viz. the Vestry, Record-room, School-room, and

* I am fully aware that the plan upon which I conceive our Monasteries to have been *usually* built, was by no means adopted accurately in *every instance*. The Conventual Church, for example, is found to have been occasionally placed (particularly in cities) on the south of the Monastery, and the situation of the other buildings, in such cases, corresponded with that of the Church. *Some* of the particulars, too, of the description in the text are more peculiarly applicable to the Monasteries of the Cistertians, who were a branch of the Benedictines, and were established as an order, according to Tanner (Notit. Monastic. p. 9.) in 1098.

some other small apartments. Opposite to the Church was commonly placed the gate of entrance; on one side of this (not always on the same side) were a Locutory and Keeping-rooms, on the other side the Refectory. The west side of the building was usually composed of the Kitchens, Bake-house, Work-shops, and Celerer's apartments; beneath, or annexed to these buildings, a Crypt or Cellar is often to be found. The Dormitory was sometimes a building by itself, and sometimes a single large chamber, or a series of chambers, situated over the lower rooms of the Monastery; it was not always on the same side, but most frequently to the west; the sleeping-rooms for strangers were, in some Monasteries, over the kitchen and offices. Other apartments, as the Chapter-house, Scriptorium, Infirmary, Library, Guests'-hall, Almonry, and Prison, were also included in many religious houses, but their situation varied much. The quadrangle of the Monastery was bounded internally by Cloisters.

The building, thus formed, was situated in a close of various extent, which was walled round,

and was entered frequently by a large ornamented gate, as well as by others less decorated. The Abbot's Lodge and Chapel were placed at some little distance, to the south-east of the quadrangle. A Mill and a Grange were also annexed to Monasteries situated in the Country.

In the poetical address of Alcuin to his cell (which I have noticed in a former Essay), a description may be seen of the site, &c. of a Monastery, which I conceive would once have been applicable to most of the buildings of that kind which were erected in the country. He says that his religious house was surrounded by trees, and by a flowering or shrubby coppice; that a meadow adjoined to it, abounding in medicinal herbs; that its close contained an orchard of apple-trees, and a kind of flower-garden, and that it bordered upon a river well stocked with fish.

The Monastic life is generally allowed to have been instituted in Egypt by St. Anthony about the year 305,* and to have been introduced into Rome

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Cent. IV. p. 2. 13, and Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. I. p. 192, (Edit. 3).

about 340.* Some time after, St. Martin of Tours brought it first into France, and St. Patrick, his nephew, into England. Malmsbury informs us that after St. Patrick had converted the Irish (in 433) he passed into this Island, and finding at Glastenbury twelve Anchorites, he collected them together, taught them to live according to monastic rules, and made himself their Abbot. The learned Stillingfleet also contends that the English Monasteries were not older than this period. Capgrave† and Hospinian,‡ however, attribute the introduction of Monachism into Britain, to Morgan, or Pelagius, the noted heresiarch, who flourished about the year 400. The earliest *Nunnery* in England was that of Folkstone, in Kent, which was founded, in 630, by Eadbald, King of Kent, and his daughter Eanswitha, who was the first Abbess of it.§

* By whom, is uncertain; though most writers attribute its introduction to Athanasius. Mosheim, as above.

† Vit. S. Alban. fol. VIII. b.

‡ De Origine Monochatus, lib. IV. cap. 3.

§ Tanner's Notit. Monast. Kent XXV.

OF THE HOUSES OF THE ENGLISH.

As subterranean hiding pits were undoubtedly used by the ancient Britons for occasional protection to themselves and their property,* it is not improbable that their earliest dwellings, like those of other uncivilized nations,† were natural or artificial *caves*.‡ Their first houses or huts, however, were composed of boughs of trees, or twigs,§ and were made sufficiently large to con-

* King's Muniment. Antiq. vol. I. p. 49. &c.

† ——— *κ' ουτε πλινθυφεις*
Δομους προσειλους ησαν, ου ξυλουργιαν·
Κατωρυχες δ' εναιον, 'ωστ' ανσυροι
Μυρμηκες, αντρων εν μυχοις ανηλιοις.

Æschyl. Prometh. vinct. 450.

The habitations, which immediately succeeded these, are deemed by Polydore Virgil to have been huts of clay.

De Rer. Invent. lib. III. 7.

‡ In rocks situated to the west of Nottingham Castle, a series of excavations are still to be seen, which are supposed to be the remains of a Monastery. Carter's Ancient Architecture, p. 13.

§ "*Virgeas* habitant casas (Britanni) communia tecta cum pecore, silvæque illis sæpe sunt domus."

Jornandus de Reb. Get. c. II. p. 6.

tain a family and some portion of its cattle; they appear at a later period to have been built with sods, or with rough stones, and usually, I believe, without mortar (as was the case with the Duns, and even with some of the meaner cottages of Scotland, to a very late period); the stone huts of the Britons were *conical*, of which form some traces are still preserved in the smaller farm-houses of Wales; they consisted but of one room, and were without chimnies, the smoke passing through the roof.

During the time of the *Romans*, great architectural skill is said to have been acquired by the British workmen; and it may well be supposed that the mansions of the more wealthy inhabitants of the Island were consequently improved at this period; possibly some of the Anglo-Roman villas, of which we yet find remains, were occupied by Britons of distinction; still, however, we have no reason to believe that any great or general change was then introduced into the humbler dwellings of the Britons, for the very clumsy and unsuccessful attempt which they made, at the departure of the Romans, to repair the wall of

Severus, is a strong proof that a knowledge of the art of building was far from being generally diffused over the Island.*

The common dwellings of the *Anglo-Saxons* were small, composed of wood and clay, and

* In the florid description of Britain which is given by Gildas, in the Prologus to his Epistle, p. 6, we find him expatiating upon none of the English structures but the Castles.

Indeed the custom of building wattled houses continued, in Wales, for a considerable length of time; a palace of hurdle-work was erected by Hoel Dha (who died in 940), which was called Tyguyn, or the *White-house*, to distinguish it from other houses, which were not composed, like this, of twigs *stripped of their bark:* (Fuller's Church History, b. I. p. 7.): and we gather from Giraldus Cambrensis (who flourished in the twelfth century), that although some stone-castles had been built, at that period, in Wales, most of the Welch gentry still continued to reside in houses constructed of wattles, and situated in lonely places.

But in Scotland, houses, or huts, of a similar structure abounded even in the fourteenth century; for the natives of that country are represented, by Froissart, as remonstrating, on a certain occasion, in the following words, "If the English do burn our houses, what consequence is it to us? we can rebuild them cheap enough, for we only require three days to do so, provided we can have five or six poles and boughs to cover them."

Johnes' Translation, 4to. vol. III. p. 10.

See too p. 49. of the same volume.

Some idea of the ancient British huts of twigs may be derived from the Sheelins, of which a representation is to be seen in Pennant's Tour in Scotland, vol. II. pl. 16.

thatched with rushes or straw.* Bricks, or squared stones, were indeed occasionally used in their construction, but chiefly for *ornament*.†

* King's. Muniment Antiq. vol. III. p. 27.

† Strutt's Horda Angel-cynnan, vol. I. p. 37.

"Bede, in his life of St. Cuthbert, has described the habitation which the bishop built for himself in the Isle of Farne. It consisted of two separate rooms, surrounded by a wall about two yards high. The latter was built with stone and turf; the rooms were partly excavated in the rock; so that their walls were composed of stone and clay and wood. For roofs they had branches of trees covered with straw."

Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, vol. I. p. 201.

As the domestic dwellings of the Saxons, in this island, appear to have retained some resemblance to those of the country from which that people proceeded, it may not be entirely superfluous to notice a brief description, by Olaus Magnus, of the houses of the Northern Nations; although indeed that writer has not specified the periods at which they were respectively introduced. He divides them into the five kinds of "pyramidales, cuneatæ, arcuales, rotundæ, et quadratæ;" the sides and roofs of all were solely, or chiefly composed of timber, but walls of stone were sometimes combined with the wood. The houses which he denominates "cuneatæ," and which were the most general, were covered, he says, "corticibus betulæ, vel tegulis, vel fissilibus scandulis è pino, vel abiete, vel quercu, vel fago confectis;" but with some of these materials, he informs us, a double row of clods of earth was occasionally intermixed, between which were scattered

After the *Norman* conquest, the art of building improved in England;* cut stones and tiles were more frequently introduced;† but a very large proportion of wood continued to be used, even in the structure of the houses of the metropolis,‡ to a late period.

During the period between the reigns of Edward I

scattered barley or oats, with the view of their affording some produce for cattle in case of a siege.

The windows of the houses were frequently placed in the roofs; they were formed of pitched cloth, or, which is somewhat extraordinary, of glass.

Hist. de Gent. Sept. (Romæ 1555) p. 409, 410.

* Lyttelton's Hist. of Hen. II. vol. III. (8vo.) p. 47.

† Strutt's Horda Angel-cynnan, vol. I, p. 104.

‡ "The greatest parte of our buylding in the cities and good townes of Englande consisteth onely of timber, for as yet fewe of the houses of the commonalty (except here and there in the west country townes) are made of stone."

Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. I. p. 85. edit. 1577.

The whole of the Chapter from which the above passage is taken, and which is intitled "of the maner of Buylding and furniture of our houses," is peculiarly worthy of the attention of the antiquary.

We learn from Bishop Burnet too, that even in the time of Charles II. (previously to the fire of London), a great part of that city was built of timber filled up with plaster.

and Henry VII inclusive, "the common run of houses," says Mr. Strutt* "(especially among the middling sort of people) were built with wood, they generally made large porches before their principal entrances, with great halls and large parlours; the frame-work was constructed with beams of timber, of such enormous size, that the materials of one house as they built anciently, would make several of equal size according to the present mode of building; the common method of making walls was to nail laths to the timber frame, and strike them over with a rough plaster, which was afterwards whitened and ornamented with fine mortar, and this last was often beautified with figures, and other curious devices. The houses in the cities and towns, were certainly built, each story jetting forth over the former story, so that where the streets were not very wide, the people at the top, from opposite houses, might not only talk and converse with each other, but even shake hands together; their houses were covered with tiles, shingles, slates, or lead, except in the city

* Horda Angel-cynnan, vol II. p. 45.

of London, where the use of shingles was forbid."

The farm-houses of three or four centuries ago, were low, dark, and supported by crooks.

The residences of our forefathers were, however, of very different kinds; besides their ordinary houses and cottages, they had also their castlets or peels, their manor-houses, their halls, and their greater and less embattled mansions.*

The *castlets or peels* were generally situated on the borders; they seem in some degree to have resembled the ancient British fortress, as they consisted of a single tower of several stories, contrived for the reception of cattle beneath, and of a family above.

The unembattled *manor-house* surrounded a quadrangle, and was defended by a moat. This quadrangular form of building has been thought by some to have been borrowed by the Saxons from the Romans, and to have been afterwards copied by the Anglo-Normans, in constructing the cloistered courts of monasteries, colleges, and hospitals, as well as the manor-houses above-mentioned.

* Whitaker's History of Whalley, p. 472, &c.

The ordinary *Hall*, before the time of Elizabeth, was a very substantial building, resting upon crooks of the oldest form; it contained a lobby, a hall, with a parlour beyond it on one side, and offices on the other; the windows were apertures six inches wide, not originally intended for glass; the floors of clay; the chimnies wide and open; the apartments, one only excepted, low and narrow. In the halls built of stone (after the time of Elizabeth), the original form of the more ancient ones was retained, but with great enlargement; on the right of the entrance was the hall, lighted by one great *range* window, and containing an immense fire-place; at the lower end was a gallery, and beyond the hall a parlour, or sleeping-room, furnished with a massy oak bedstead.

The *embattled* houses of the time of Elizabeth and James were of two kinds; the one an improvement upon the rude quadrangle, the other an expansion of the ancient castlet; the one luminous and magnificent, with deep projecting bow-windows; the other lofty, square, and compact; of such houses it is a known complaint of Lord Bacon, "that one knows not where to become to

be out of the sun." The first of these kinds of houses contained large halls and kitchens with huge arched fire-places; chambers of state richly carved and adorned with armorial bearings in wood, stone, or alabaster; a gallery for music and dancing; glass painted with armorial bearings. The furniture of these houses was very strong and heavy.

The building with stone began to prevail in the time of Elizabeth.*

* Fuller (in his Church History, p. 188. b. IX.) thus speaks of the English houses of about the year 1587. "Indeed now began beautifull buildings in England, as to the generality thereof, whose Homes were but homely before, as small and ill-contrived, much timber being needlessly lavished upon them; but now many most regular pieces of architecture were erected, so (as one saith) they began to dwell *latius* and *lautius*, but I suspect not *lætius*, hospitallity much decaying."

"The auncient maners and houses of our gentlemen are yet for the most part of strong tymber. Howbeit such as be lately buylded, are commonly either of bricke or harde stone." Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. I. p. 85.

Some other remarkable changes which took place at nearly the same period in the English buildings, &c. are thus recorded in the description of Britaine (prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles) "There are olde men yet dwelling in the village where I remayne which have noted three things to be marveylously altered in Englande within their sound remembrance. One is the *multitude*

of

The sash-window and model of the square modern house was first introduced from Italy, in the reign of Charles II.

On the subject of *windows* I can collect little information but that which is supplied us by Harrison,* and which I shall give in his own words. "Of olde tyme our country houses in steede of glasse dyd use much lattis, and that made eyther of wicker or fine riftes of oke in checkerwyse. I reade also that some of the better sorte, in and

of chimnies lately erected, whereas in their yoonge dayes there were not above twoo or three, if so many, in most uplandish townes of the realme, (the religious houses and mannour places of their Lordes alwayes excepted) but eache one made his fire against a rere-doss, in the hall where he dined and dressed his meate. The second is the great amendement of lodginge, for sayde they our fathers and we ourselves have lyen full oft upon straw pallettes covered only with a sheete under coverlettes made of dagswain or hopharlots, and a good round logge under their heades insteade of a boulster. Pillowes, sayde they, were thought meete onely for women in childebed. The thirde thinge they tell of is the exchange of treene platters into pewter, and wooden spoones into silver or tin; for so common were all sorts of treene vesselles in old time, that a man should hardly find four peces of pewter in a good farmer's house."

* Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. i. p. 85.

before the tymes of the Saxons, did make panels of horne in steede of glasse,* and fixe them in woodden calmes, but as horne is quite layde downe in every place, so our lattises are also growne into lesse use, bycause glasse is come to be so plentifull and within a very little so good cheape as the other. Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noblemen were often glased with Beril (an example wherof is yet to be seene in Sudley Castell) and in divers other places with fine christall, but this especially in the time of the Romaines, wherof also some fragmentes have beene taken up in olde

* But the art of glass-making, as I have before observed, was introduced into England about the year 662. The French, from whom we immediately derived it, probably acquired their knowledge of it from Italy, where it had been practised for a long period of time, and had been carried to very great perfection by the ancient Romans, particularly in the formation of vases and artificial gems. In the reign of Tiberius, a mode was found of rendering glass flexible, but the ingenious inventor of it was put to death, by that inhuman Prince, under the pretext that the composition which had been formed might depreciate the nobler metals. Glass is said to have been first discovered by the accidental burning of nitre (perhaps natron) on a remarkably pure sand near to Ptolemais. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 26. and Pancirolli Res Mem. tit. xxxvi.

ruines. But nowe these are not in use, so that onely the clearest glasse is most esteemed, for we have divers sortes, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandy, much out of Flaunders, beside that which is made in Englande so good as the best, and eache one that may, will have it for his building."

From the foregoing passage, as well as from the testimony of other writers, it may be gathered that, notwithstanding the early use of glass in our *Churches*, windows of that material were hardly introduced *universally* into this country before the beginning of the seventeenth century.* We have however, good reason to believe that they existed in the palaces of Woodstock and of Westminster in the reign of Henry III,† and probably they were sometimes used, from about the same period, in

* The Dissertation of Harrison, from which the above extract has been taken, was written, or at least published, in 1577: but if we may judge from some prints in Nicole Gilles' Chronicques et Annalles de France, it should seem that glass-windows were common, in the ordinary dwellings of the French, half a century before that period.

† Madox's Collections of the 49th year of Henry III. Fabyan's Chronicle, p. 7. fol. XLIII.

the residences of other persons of high distinction.*

REMARKS ON THE

POINTED STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE.

The pointed style of architecture, which so long prevailed in this kingdom, was first denominated "Gothic," in the sixteenth century: this term having given, perhaps, just offence to many of our antiquaries, the name of "English" has been lately substituted to it; an appellation which has the more readily been received by some, from the attempts which have been made to prove that

* Chaucer, in his second Dream, l. 72, imagines himself in an "yle of glasse," and in his former one, he supposes his chamber to be decorated with windows of the same material.

"And sooth to saine, my chamber was
Full well depainted, and with glass
Were all the windowes well yglazed."

May we hence infer that the poet was familiarized with this luxury in the palaces of his illustrious patron, John of Gaunt?

A stone frame for glass, of the age of Henry VI, is inserted into the window of an apartment occupied, under that monarch, by the celebrated Earl Talbot, in the keep of Goodrich Castle, Herefordshire.

the style to which it is applied was really of *English* invention and growth: it is however upon this very account (independent of the too general meaning of the term English) that I felt a reluctance to the adopting of it, as no difficulty will be found in shewing that many specimens of the pointed style of architecture exist upon the Continent, which are certainly of a much earlier date than any which remain to us in this country.

Although not immediately to the point which I would here attempt to establish, it may yet be worthy of notice, that Ledwich, in his Antiquities of Ireland,* asserts that an imperfect pointed arch (which he calls contrasted) occurs in the ruins of Antinopolis, a city of Egypt, which was built by Adrian, soon after the year 132. A drawing of these ruins, made by Pere Bernat, is inserted into the third Tome of Montfaucon's Antiquities.

It appears too, from Daniel's drawings of buildings in Hindostan, that pointed, as well as round, arches of very great antiquity are to be seen in that country.

* P. 192.

In Horsley's Britannia Romana* some instances are to be found, among the sepulchral erections, of very complete pointed arches; a circumstance, from which, I conceive, it may be fairly inferred, that arches of a like shape existed, at the same period, in other parts of the Roman Empire.

In the dungeon of Orford Castle (Suffolk), which is deemed by Mr. King to have been both the structure and the residence of a British Chieftain,† three very perfect pointed arches remain, which, if coeval with the rest of the building, as they undoubtedly appear to be,‡ may possibly be a British imitation of some arches of a similar form erected, by the Romans, in our Island; and this is more probably the case, as other traces of the Roman style of architecture occur in that Castle.

* P. 192. N. 5. Fig. XIV. P. 192. N. 67. Fig. IV. P. 192. N. 75. Fig. I.

† Muniment. Antiq. vol. III. p. 150.

‡ In making this assertion, I rely upon the report of a friend, in whose judgment I have great confidence; and the opinion which he entertains of the high antiquity of the arches in question, is corroborated, I think, in some degree, by the appearance of an irregular kind of pointed arch in the *most ancient* part of the Castle of Chilham, in Kent.

The earliest and most authentic model, however, of a Gothic *building*, with which we are yet acquainted, is that which is represented on a coin of Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, who made himself master of a considerable portion of Italy in the year 490. It has been hence inferred (and by no means unreasonably) that the palace of that prince was constructed in the pointed style.

The Church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, and the Cathedral of Monte Reale, near Palermo, the former built in the sixth, and the latter in the eighth century, are deemed, by Mr. Knight,* to contain the germ of that monastic Gothic Architecture which afterwards extended itself through most of the kingdoms of Europe.

Besides the Cathedral of Rheims, erected, according to Dargenville, in 875, several of those Churches at Paris, which were chiefly, if not entirely, built at a much earlier period of time than the Norman Conquest, are in the Gothic style of architecture; this is the case even with the very ancient Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, which

* Enquiry into the Principles of Taste, p. 162.

existed in the seventh century; in this church pointed arches occur; they are undoubtedly of considerable antiquity, but I am not disposed to assert positively that they are coeval with the rest of the building. A part of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, is also extremely ancient.* La Sainte Chapelle, at Paris, too affords a striking example of the *florid* Gothic; this Church was not finished indeed till the year 1247, but we find in England no specimen of the florid Gothic of an earlier date than the fifteenth century.

* Portions of this Cathedral must consequently have been the work of very different æras. Mr. Tappen (in his Professional Observations on Architecture, p. 24), informs us that it was erected in the twelfth century, under Lewis VI; but although this assertion may be very accurate with respect to the mass of the building, yet the following description of it, from the work abovementioned, seems to countenance the report of its having received some additions at least, from the English, at a much later period. "It is a Gothic building in the form of a cross, and has nothing to boast, either within or without, on the score of beauty. In length it is 396 feet, and in width 140. The façade consists of two towers and a centre, like the *west end of Westminster Abbey*, with three doors of entrance; over the doors is a gallery, or range of nitches with figures; above them are Gothic windows, and a variety of sculptural grotesque ornaments. The towers finish with square tops, and have a ponderous appearance."

The arches of Churches on the coins of Lewis the Pious, and of Berengarius, King of Italy, and those also which are to be seen in the Menologium Græcum, prove that the straight pointed arch was in use on the Continent in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The grand entrance to the Cathedral of Strasburg (founded in 1027) is formed by some magnificent pointed arches; its top and sides are also decorated by a great number of pointed nitches and pinnacles most richly ornamented. Statues are placed upon it in great profusion.

Some beautiful specimens of Gothic Architecture in Italy and Sicily (of the eleventh and following centuries) are to be seen in Mr. Smirke's paper in the fifteenth volume of the Archæologia.

There is certainly good reason for believing that the pointed style was known in Normandy before its general introduction into this kingdom; in one of the towers of the west front of St. Stephen's at Caen (built by William the Conqueror in 1054) pointed arches appear;* but as in the tower on

* Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, plate III.

the contrary side, and in the other parts of the front, we find only round arches, the pointed ones, in this instance, may possibly be of a more modern date than the rest of the building; and I am the more inclined to believe this to be the case, because in another building at Caen, of a later date, (the Church of the Holy Trinity) I find no traces of a pointed arch. In the Cathedral of Bayeux,* however, built by Philip de Harcourt in 1159, pointed arches abound; and in the very ancient Church of St. Sauveur du Marche, we meet with the pointed arch and the pinnacle.† Ducarel goes so far as to assert that the round arch was introduced into Normandy after the Conquest, in imitation of the Saxon one; but this conjecture will not, I imagine, be readily adopted.

It is also worthy of observation, that the two towers of St. Stephen's, at Caen, are both topped by *spires*, and that spires, as well as *fluted* pillars and very beautiful painted glass are also to be seen in the palace of William the Conqueror at

* Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 78.

† The same, p. 74.

Caen: spires occur too in the abovementioned Cathedral of Bayeux.*

The circumstances, which I have now been stating, are decided proofs, I conceive, that the pointed style of Architecture cannot, with any degree of accuracy, be deemed an English invention. In whatever quarter that style arose, it was most clearly introduced into this country soon after the Norman Conquest;† was gradually engrafted by

* It is somewhat extraordinary that we should neither possess any complete account of the buildings of the Gallo-Normans, nor, what would be still more desirable, a comparative view of the state of Architecture in Normandy and England at, and after, the Conquest. Indeed *all* the antiquities of Normandy are, from that period, intimately connected with those of our own country; and Ducarel, in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities, has merely begun an enquiry which might certainly be pursued with great advantage.*

† The few pointed arches, chiefly sepulchral, of the Roman or British periods; the pointed arch of Edward the Confessor (probably a Norman work); and one or two *dubious* Saxon pointed facings, noticed by Mr. King,† can hardly be thought to invalidate this assertion.

* The late judicious publication and illustration, by Baron Maseres, of a valuable portion of the "*Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*," serves much to corroborate this opinion.

† Muniment. Antiq. vol. III. p. 234, 236.

the Normans on the Saxon style; and finally superseded it. For these reasons then, and from the still ambiguous origin of the species of architecture of which I am speaking, I have chosen to avoid, in the titles of my æras, both the words "English" and "Gothic," and to substitute that of "Norman," as being less objectionable than either, inasmuch as it marks the source from which the *germ* at least of our pointed Architecture was immediately derived to us.

OF SAXON LITERATURE.

WHILE the antiquities and compositions of the Celtic tribes are exciting considerable interest in the literary world, it cannot but be a subject both of surprise and regret, that the language and productions of the Saxons should have almost ceased to attract our attention.

The obligations which we are under to this species of literature appear to be nearly forgotten, although we are indebted to it for a great and valuable portion of the history and antiquities of our nation; more knowledge might undoubtedly be yet gleaned from the same field;* and were it ne-

* It may be amusing, perhaps, to glance over the various advantages which an antiquary, of the time of Charles the First, conceived

cessary to enforce a prosecution of Saxon studies by the authority and example of distinguished men, the names of Camden, of Spelman, and of Junius, might alone awaken us to more spirited exertions.

At the beginning of the period in which these eminent antiquaries flourished, the knowledge of the Saxon language was nearly extinct in England ;* they were, however, forcibly struck by the

conceived to be derivable from a skill in the Saxon language. "First," says he, "to know and to make knowne to the world, that, howsoever the Scripture in vulgar has been since debarred, yet our Saxon ancestors had both this and other bookes of Divinity in the Saxon tongue—Secondly, the memory and knowledge thereof serves well to find out the Etymologies and roots of our words—A third use of this knowledge is to understand the right meaning of our old lawes, which often give light to the new—A fourth use thereof is that we may be able to declare unto all men, whom it concernes, the true meaning of their titles, charters, privileges, territories, and precincts." A fifth use which he afterwards notices (but which, indeed, is included in the second), is the help derived from the Saxon in the explanation of proper names, and a sixth is the decision of controversies often arising between our heralds and antiquaries. See W. L'Isle's Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon tongue. Preface, § 19.

* It ought not however to be forgotten that Laurence Nowell, Dean

value of that language, and by the importance of the works which were composed in it; and the efforts, which they so earnestly directed to the revival of Saxon literature,* were rewarded by an extraordinary success.

The work, which was thus happily begun, was soon after greatly promoted, as well by the patronage or labours of Laud, Usher, Selden, Somner, Hickes, and Gibson, as by the persevering exertions of the son of Spelman, on whom his father had bestowed the honourable title of "heir to his studies."

The fondness, however, for the Saxon tongue, which had thus been awakened and cherished in the English nation, abated with a rapidity that is

Dean of Lichfield, had made an attempt to restore the Saxon literature somewhat earlier than the time of which I am speaking.

* Spelman having himself experienced some difficulty in acquiring a skill in the Saxon tongue, determined, with a most judicious generosity, to establish a Saxon professorship in the University of Cambridge; this chair was filled, with great advantage to the public, both by Wheelock and Somner; but the supply destined to its maintenance was sequestered, with the rest of the property of the Spelman family, in the course of the civil wars. See Spelman's Life, prefixed to his English Works.

much to be lamented, and little of importance has been added to our Saxon stores, during the course of the eighteenth century, except the works of the Elstobs, of Wilkins, and of Lye.*

But while we have to regret, on the one hand, the langour with which that study is pursued of which I have just been speaking, we may, on the other, derive much satisfaction and encouragement from the great number of unedited Saxon manuscripts which are to be found in many of our most celebrated libraries,† and of which it is yet to be

* The Saxon period in the excellent work of Dr. Henry, parts of Mr. Strutt's compilations, and the valuable History of the Anglo-Saxons by Turner, all published within a few years past, are certainly contributing to diffuse a knowledge of the customs, laws, &c. of the Saxons; but it is plain that these are not the kind of works to which I allude above.

† It is impossible to attempt, in a work of this kind, even an imperfect enumeration of the Saxon compositions which are hitherto unedited; it might be enough to refer to the very copious collection of Saxon MSS. in the British Museum; but besides these, a variety of Saxon productions are also preserved in the Harleian Collection; in that of his Majesty; in the Bodleian; in Trinity, Emanuel, and Bene't Libraries, Cambridge, (the latter of which was particularly enriched by the gifts of Archbishop Parker), and also in some few of the Libraries of our Cathedrals. Catalogues

hoped that a copious and judicious selection may at some future period, be offered to the public; the skilful execution of a task like this would certainly redound highly to the literary honour of the nation, and could not but greatly tend to revive that laudable attention to Saxon philology and compositions which has been too long dormant.

I cannot but here observe, that it is certainly somewhat to be regretted, that the translations of those Saxon works, which have hitherto been published, are almost universally executed in the *Latin* tongue; for what good reason their contents should be thus veiled from the unlearned English reader, I confess I am at a loss to conceive; it can hardly be asserted with truth, that these works ought rather to be dedicated to the use of the literary public of Europe, than to that of our own countrymen; surely the English are the people to whom they must be principally interesting, and whose curiosity respecting them has the first claim to indulgence.

Catalogues of several of the collections abovementioned, may be found in Wanley's Additions to Hickes' Thesaurus Ling. vet. Septentrion. Very complete catalogues of the Cottonian MSS. and of those of Parker, have been recently published.

An *English* translation then of the best unedited Saxon manuscripts would certainly be a desirable acquisition, and I am also inclined to believe, that even a re-translation into English, of such Saxon pieces as have been published with a *Latin* version only, is an object not unworthy of attention.—History is a study to which the mere English reader is often very strongly and very properly attached, and a thorough knowledge of his own history (the most valuable to him of all) would doubtless be much promoted by some familiarity with the writings of the Saxons; I know no man who has any taste for historical pursuits that could fail of being gratified by a perusal of that curious and venerable remain, the Saxon Chronicle.*

For the same reasons, a translation of Bede and of such of the Saxon and other early writers in

* I learn, with some satisfaction, from the Inaugural Lecture on Anglo-Saxon Literature, lately published by Professor Ingram, (p. 33), that he is now engaged in composing an Essay on the Saxon Chronicle, and in rendering portions of it into English. This work would certainly be no less acceptable to the public than the learned Professor's republication of some very interesting pieces by Alfred (with a corrected translation) annexed to the Lecture abovementioned.

England as have *composed in Latin* would also be very desirable.*

A similar translation too of the poetry of the Saxons, or of some specimens of it at least, could not, I think, be totally uninteresting; no great portion of the original poetry itself has yet been given to the public, and in that portion which has appeared, little perhaps is contained that was peculiarly eminent in its time: of Cædmon, a poet of great celebrity, a few lines only have been preserved by Bede, and no published piece of Saxon poetry is superior, on the whole, to the Ode on Athelstan's victory, of which a most admirable translation may be seen in Ellis's Specimens.

I cannot, perhaps, better conclude these short hortatory remarks, than by risking the addition of a nearly literal translation of the fragment of Cædmon, which I have mentioned above, and of a chapter in the Saxon Chronicle, which gives a minute account of the foundation-charters of that famous monastery at Medeshamstead, which constitutes the site of the present Peterborough.

* Many amusing and instructive portions of English history might be extracted from the Scriptores post Bedam, and from Gale's larger collection of Scriptores Rerum Anglicanarum, &c.

The former of these pieces was composed in the sixth century, and the latter, probably, but very little later than the seventh; for although the Saxon Chronicle includes the death of Stephen, yet there is good reason for believing that it is the work of different persons, and that most of the events recorded in it were inserted very soon after the time in which they happened.

CÆDMON.

(From Hickes' Thesaurus, vol. 1. p. 87.)

Now we shall praise
The guardian of the kingdom of heaven,
The might of the Creator,
And the decrees of his spirit.
The glory-working father
Of all-surrounding splendour.

The eternal Lord founded the beginning;
He first shaped,
For the sons of earth,

The roof of heaven;
The holy creator!
This world
The keeper of mankind,
The eternal Lord, afterwards doomed
To fires—of the land
Ruler all-powerful.

Of the metre of Cædmon no accurate idea can be obtained except from the original, as his lines are not rimed, and as the harmony of them arises both from a species of rhythm, which it is difficult to imitate or even to ascertain, and also from the occasional introduction of alliteration, to which the Saxons were greatly attached. If we can credit the tradition that this Author was in the habit of composing in his sleep, his poetry will certainly create great astonishment.

Chapter from the Chronicon Saxonicum.

(Gibson's Edition, p. 41. An. 675.)

In his time (Æthelred's) then he sent Bishop Wilfred to Rome, to the Pope who then was; his name was Agatho; and the King told him, by writ and by word, how his brothers Peada and Wulfere, and the Abbot Saxulph, had built a minster (or monastery) called Medeshamstede, and that they had freed it, with the King and the Bishop, from all bondage, and exhorted him that he would confirm it by his writ, and by his blessing. And the Pope then sent his writ to England, thus saying, "I, Agatho, Pope of Rome, greet well the worthy Æthelred the King of Mercia, and the Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, and Saxulph the Bishop of the Mercians, who before was Abbot, and all the Abbots who are in England. God's greeting and my blessing. I have heard the yearnings of King Æthelred, and of the Archbishop Theodore, and of Bishop Saxulph, and of the Abbot Cuthbald, and I will that it should in all ways be as ye

have spoken; and I have bidden in behalf of God, and of St. Peter, and of all Saints, and of every holy head, that neither King, nor Bishop, nor Earl, nor any man, shall have any tribute, custom, toll, or fourthing, and that no man shall exact any kind of servitude from the Abbey of Medeshamstede; I also order that no Bishop of the shire should have the boldness to ordain or consecrate in this Abbacy, unless the Abbot should bid him; nor that he should exact either Bishop's fees, or synodals, or any other kind of payment. And I will, that the Abbot be held as the Legate of Rome over all the island, and that any Abbot who is there chosen by the Monks shall be blessed (consecrated) by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and I will and ordain, that if any man have made a vow to go to Rome, and cannot perform it, either from sickness, or from the need of his master, or from any other business, be he of England or of any other island, let him come to the Minster of Medeshamstede, and let him have such forgiveness from Christ and Saint Peter, and the Abbots, and the Monks, as he should have if he went to Rome. And now I bid thee, brother

Theodore, that thou permittest a synod to be called through all England, and that this writ be read and obeyed. Also I say to thee, Bishop Saxulph, that as thou hast yearned that the minster be free, so I have forbidden thee, and all the Bishops who come after thee, (sent) by Christ and all his saints, that none of ye shall have any tribute from the minster but as much as the Abbot chuseth. Now I will say, in a word, that whosoever abideth by this writ and this ordinance, he shall ever dwell with God Almighty in the Kingdom of Heaven, and whosoever breaketh it, he shall be excommunicated, and condemned with Judas and all the devils in hell, unless he shall repent. Amen." This writ Pope Agatho, and an hundred and twenty-five Bishops, sent into England by Wilfrid, Archbishop of York. This was done in the 680th year after the nativity of our Lord, and in the 6th year of King Æthelred. Then the King desired Archbishop Theodore to appoint a witenagemot at a place called Heatfelde; when they were there gathered together, he permitted the letter to be read which the Pope had sent, and all ordained and confirmed it; then said the King, "All that

my brother Peada and my brother Wulfere, and my sisters Cineburgh and Kynesuith, gave and confirmed to Saint Peter and the Abbot, that will I have to stand good: and I will in my day also increase it for the sake of their souls and my soul. Now I give to day to Saint Peter, for his Minster of Medeshamstede, these lands and all that thereto belongs, that is Bredune, Cedenac, &c.* These lands I give to Saint Peter, as freely as I myself held them, and so that none of my successors shall take therefrom any part: but if any one do so, may he have the curse of the Pope of Rome, and of all Bishops, and of all who are here witnesses; and this I confirm with the sign of Christ. ✠. I, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, am witness to this Charter of Medeshamstede, and I confirm it with my hand, and I excommunicate all who take any thing from it, and I bless all those who abide by it. ✠. I, Wilfred, Arch-

* As most of the places mentioned in the original are not now known, or distinguished by some other name, it is enough to mention that among them appear to have been Brecdon, in Worcester, Swineshead, in Huntingdon, and Cosford, and Stratford on Avon, in Warwickshire.

bishop of York, am witness to this Charter, and confirm the same curse. ✠. Amen.*

* It is also signed, with similar denunciations, by Saxulph, Ostritha, and by the Bishops of London and Rochester, with Cuthbald the Abbot.

The celebrated Monastery of Medeshamstede, continued to increase in wealth and prosperity, till it was totally desolated by the Danes, under Hinguar and Hubba. In about 970, however, Edgar rebuilt it; restored the lands which had belonged to it; and replenished it with monks. It was then called Peterborough, from *St. Petres mynstre æt Burgh* (Sax.) and by the time of Edward the Confessor, it was again highly distinguished by its riches and splendour. Shortly after this period, Brand, one of its monks, gave great offence to the Conqueror, by courting the favour of Edgar Atheling, and the monastery was obliged to sooth the displeasure of William by a sum of money. In the course of the rebellion, which was soon after excited by Hereward and his accomplices, it was pillaged and fired by them; it was again plundered, in the time of Henry I, by some Flemish and French pirates; and, about fourteen years after, it was almost entirely consumed by fire. After this disaster was repaired, it again suffered depredation from King John; but from that period it seems to have flourished much, till the suppression of monasteries, at which time it supported forty Benedictine Monks, and enjoyed a yearly revenue (according to Dugdale) of £1972, 7s. from a part of this, a Bishoprick was established by Henry VIII, the Conventual Church being then converted into a Cathedral. See Lambarde's Dict. Angl. Top. and Hist. p. 271. Tanner's Not. Mon. Northamptonshire, xxvi.

A TABLE AND ILLUSTRATION

OF

THE SAXON MONTHS.

WOLFMONATH*—Giuli aftera,† January.
Sproutkele,‡ Solmonath,§ - February.

* I scarcely need to observe that "monath" is the Saxon word for "month," and that "wolfmonath" was so named from its being the most favourable season for hunting that animal.

† "Guili (or Giuli) aftera," means, the second Giul, or the second Christmas, and is derived, according to Hickes, from "iol or ol," "ale;" this word still occurs for Christmas, in "yiul-cake," "yiul-block," &c.

‡ "Kele" is a species of cabbage still well known by that name.

§ "Solmonath" is explained by Bede, "mensis placentarum;" and Spelman, in an *unedited manuscript*, renders it "*pan-cake* month:"

Lenctmonath,* Rhedmonath,† Hlydmonath,‡ - - - - - March.
Oster or Eastermonath,§ - - April.
Trimilki,‖ Seremonath,** Unnemonath,†† May.

month:" it was thus called, because in the course of it, cakes were offered by the pagan Saxons to the sun; and "sol" or "soul" signifies "food" or "cakes."

* "Lenct," or Lent, means "Spring."

† This word is derived, by some, from a Saxon deity named Rheda, to whom sacrifices were offered in March; by others it is derived from the Saxon "ræd" council, March being the month in which wars or expeditions were generally undertaken by the Gothic tribes.

‡ "Hlyd" means "stormy."

§ In this month the feast of the Saxon goddess Eastre, Easter, or Eoster, is said to have been celebrated. Spelman observes on it, "Impium et indignum, sacrosanctam Christianorum festivitatem turpissima fœdari Gentilium appellatione; sunt tamen qui resurrectionem interpretantur et inde *Costerne*, Teutonice, nuncupant, juxta quod in antiqua Bedæ editione *Coster* legitur, non *Eoster*."

‖ "Trimilki" implies milking three times in the day.

** "Sere" is still used to express dry.

†† "Unne" is the Saxon word for joy.

Weydmonath,* Medemonath, Midsumor-
monath, Braeckmonath,† according to
some, Woedmonath,‡ Lida erra,§ - June.
Henmonath,‖ Heymonath,** Lida aftera,†† July.
Trilidi,‡‡ *embolismus*.

* "Weyd" is probably from "Weyden" (German) to go about, as if to pasture.

† "Braeckmonath" is thought to be so named from the breaking up of the soil from "brækan" Sax. to break.

‡ "Woed" means "weed."

§ I can find no satisfactory account of the word "Lida;" Lida or Litha signifies in the Icelandic tongue "to move, or *pass over*," (Gloss. to Sœmundar Edda), and I am in some degree supported by Bede's remarks on this month, in conjecturing that Lida implies the sun's *passing its greatest height*, and that "Lida erra" consequently means the first month of the sun's descent: "Lida" is by some deemed the same as set-lift or smooth-air.

‖ "Hen" has probably the meaning of "hain" (German), that is, wood or trees, Henmonth then may be rendered foliage month.

** "Hey" means "hay."

†† The second "Lida" or second month of the sun's descent.

‡‡ This is an inserted month, to make up the thirteen lunar months of which the Saxon year was formerly composed; it may be explained the third month of the sun's descent.

Arnmonath,* Barnmonath, Harvestmonath, according to some, Woedmonath,†	August.
Gerstmonath,‡ Haligemonath,§	September.
Wynmonath,‖ Winterfulleth, -	October.
Wintmonath,** Blotmonath,††	November.
Wintermonath or Midwintermonath, Giul erra,‡‡ - - -	December.

* "Arn" is the Saxon word for harvest.

† "Woed" has been explained above.

‡ "Gerst" means "barley."

§ "Haligemonath" may be rendered "holy-month;" it appears from a Saxon menology (in Wanley's addition to Hickes) that this month was named holy from the annual celebration of a pagan festival in it; the menology, which I translate *literally*, says thus, "Haligemonath—for that our forefathers, the while they heathens were, on this month celebrated their devil-gild."

‖ "Wyn" means "wine."

** "Wint" is the Saxon word for wind.

†† "Blot" means "blood"—in this month cattle were killed in great abundance by the Saxons for winter store, or according to some, as sacrifices.

‡‡ "Giul erra" means the former or first Giul; the feast of Thor, which was celebrated in the mother-night (i. e. at the winter solstice) was thus called, and possibly, as before observed,

from

An emblematical representation of the Saxon months is still to be seen on an ancient font,* belonging to the church of Burnham Depedale, in Norfolk; they are very rudely sculptured, but the employments of most of the figures that are introduced may be detected with sufficient certainty. As these employments throw some light upon the subject of which I have just been treating, I shall briefly notice them. Giul aftera is designed by a man drinking from a horn; Solmonath is repre-

from iol or ol. This feast seems to have been continued through a part of January. (see Notes above.)

* This venerable relick, which had been removed from its original situation, was judiciously entrusted to my highly-esteemed friend, the Rev. Robert Forby, of Fincham (Norfolk); that gentleman, who well knows how to appretiate the "res antiquæ laudis et artis," has carefully preserved it in his garden, and has graced it with the following inscription.

NE. PEREAT. INDIGNVM. PERIRE.
NE. QVO. TVRPI. CONTAMINETVR. VSV.
HOC. BAPTISTERIVM.
ARTIS. ANGLO-SAXONICAE. OPVS.
A. STVDIOSIS. NOVITATIS.
LOCO. PROPRIO. DETVRBATVM.
HIC. POSITVM. A. D. MDCCCVII.
ID. SALTEM. ANTIQVI. IVRIS. OBTINET.
VT. NON. NISI. COELESTEM. AQVAM. CAPIAT.

sented by a person apparently sitting at the door of his house; Lenctmonath is distinguished by a man digging; Eastermonath by a man employed in pruning; Seremonath *seems* to be marked by a person occupied in trimming a vine; Woedmonath is represented by a weeder; Heymonath by a mower; Arnmonath by a reaper; Gerstmonath by a thrasher; Wynmonath is distinguished by a person apparently pouring wine from a bottle, into a cup or funnel; Blotmonath is represented by a man killing a hog; and Giul erra by a company feasting.*

* In the Archæologia (vol. x. p. 177.) a farther account may be found of this curious font; the author of that account, however, supposes it to be a *Norman* work; but as the employments of the figures on its sides correspond so exactly, in most instances, with the names of the Saxon months, and as two or three carvings, little differing from some of those abovementioned, occur also on *another font*, asserted to be *Saxon* (Archæolog. vol. xii. p. 209), I cannot hesitate to believe that the one in question is at least the work of a Saxon artist. An engraving of it was made in 1791 by the Rev. H. Crowe, jun. and the accurate Antiquary, to whom I am indebted for a copy of that print, informed me, that he had detected on some circular stones in the pavement of the chapel of the Holy Trinity, in Canterbury Cathedral, several emblematical figures, of which no explanation had hitherto been given, and which were very like to those on the font at Depedale in design and workmanship.

Another representation of a complete series of months, intermixed with the signs of the Zodiac, is sculptured upon the porch* of St. Margaret's Church, York; many of the figures, by which the months are there designed, are precisely similar to those which I have just been describing.†

In a series of painted windows, which ornament the Town-hall of Leicester, two still remain, though considerably damaged, on which the months of *June* and *September* are emblematically depicted, and in a manner nearly resembling the sculptured representation of those months on the font at Depedale. The windows of which I am speaking, are thus described by Mr. Nichols:‡ "In the first light, at the entrance, is the figure of a thrasher, and two sheaves of corn, and over it "September."—"In the seventh light, a man in a cap,

* It was, originally, the Church-porch of the dissolved Hospital of St. Nicholas, which existed in the time of the Empress Maud. See Drake's Eboracum, p. 308, and Tanner's Not. Mon. Yorkshire, c. XXIX. p. 22.

† A description and print of them may be seen in Carter's "Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting," p. 31.

‡ History of Leicestershire, vol. II. 2d part, p. 354.

bare leg and thigh, stockings down to the ancles; has a belt from which hangs another; behind him a building with turrets, before him a wooden fork holds a stump of a branch upwards, while a hook-like stick head pulls down a ragged leaf like a holly." Over this figure, which I conceive to represent a *weeder*, is inscribed "June."

The date of these paintings is not decidedly ascertained; doubtless the series of months was originally complete, but the rest of them are removed, or destroyed.

Emblematical representations of the months were also no unusual ornament in ancient almanacks, and manuals of devotion: the most curious specimen of this kind is an Almanack of the fifteenth century, which is preserved by Mr. Strutt, in his History of Engravers,* and which, as well as the representations that I have before noticed, conveys to us some amusing information, respecting the rustic customs, and employments of our ancestors.†

* Vol. i. p. 25.

† From these representations we gather, for instance, that the practice of maki g wine, from grapes of *English* growth, prevailed very generally, during a course of several centuries.

It may not be unworthy of notice that, in the description of the months by Spenser,* we find some traces of the Saxon mode of delineating them, which has been described above.

March.

Yet in his hand a spade he also hent.

July.

Behind his back a sithe.

September.

Yet was he heavy laden with the spoyle
Of harvest's riches, which he made his boot,
And him enricht with bounty of the soyle.
In his one hand, as fit for harvest's toyle,
He held a knife-hook—

October.

Then came October full of merry glee;
For yet his noule was totty of the must,
Which he was treading in the Wine-fats see—

November.

Next was November, he full grosse and fat,
As fed with lard, and that right well might seeme,
For he had been a fatting hogs of late—

* Faery Queen, Mutability, cant. VII. XXXII. &c.

December.

And after him, came next the chill December :
And he through merry feasting, which he made,
And great bonfires, did not the cold remember ;
And in his hand a broad deep boawle he beares ;
Of which he freely drinks an health to all his peeres.

Chaucer too describes January precisely in the manner in which he is sculptured on the Depedale font.

Janus sit by the fire with double berd,
And drinketh of his bugle horne the wine.*

Neither is the long-established festivity of Christmas overlooked, as a characteristic of December, in an excellent satiric description of the months by a poet of the eighteenth century.†

December, last of months, but best, who gave
A Christ to man, a Saviour to the slave,
Whilst, falsely grateful, man, at the full feast,
To do God honour makes himself a beast.

* Frankelein's Tale.

† Churchill-Gotham, book 1.

TRANSLATION FROM EADMER.

THE manner in which the celebrated Anselm exercised his power as Archbishop of Canterbury is very generally known; the following particulars of his promotion to that dignity may not be an unamusing specimen of a very ancient historical composition of the Norman School.*

The see of Canterbury had been vacant about four years after the death of Lanfranc, when Anselm

* The Historia Novorum (Selden's Edition), p. 16, &c. Eadmer, the writer of this work, was a monk of Canterbury, and professes to give in it an account of transactions in which he was himself engaged, or of which he was at least a spectator, from the time of the Norman Conquest, to the twenty-second year of the reign of Henry I.

was called to succeed him by the united voice of the people—Anselm trembled and turned pale at the sound; and when he was carried by force to the king, that he might receive from his hands the pastoral staff of investiture, he very strongly resisted, and urged that many reasons prevented his accepting the honour that was offered him. The Bishops, therefore, drew him aside from the multitude and thus addressed him; "what is it you are doing? what is it you have in view? you cannot but see that Christianity has almost perished in England, that every thing is in confusion, that all kinds of abomination have arisen, that we ourselves, as well as the Churches of God, which are under our direction, are in danger of eternal destruction, and you, who might assist us, only despise us; whence is this astonishing conduct? whither are your senses fled? the Church of Canterbury, in the oppression of which we are all oppressed and destroyed, calls upon you aloud, and anxiously seeks you as her preserver and as ours; but you, heedless of her liberties, heedless of her comfort, disdain to assist your brethren in their labours, and are devoted only to your own repose."

To this Anselm replied, "bear with me, I beseech you, bear with me, and attend; I admit that there are many grievances which require a remedy, but consider, I implore you, that I am far advanced in years, and little capable of bearing any earthly labour; how then can I, who am unable to exert myself in my own behalf, how can I undertake the charge of the whole English church? Besides, as my conscience can well testify, from the time in which I became a monk, I have shunned all secular concerns, nor can I ever attend to them with good will, for I can discover nothing in them which is capable of creating in me any interest or delight; therefore permit me to be at rest, and do not involve me in business which I dislike, lest it should on that account be unprosperous: but do thou," continued he, "accept the primacy without hesitation, go thou before in the way of the Lord, teaching us our duty, and behold, we give thee our promise that we will not be slack in obeying thy commands: do thou dedicate thyself to God for our sake, and we will manage thy secular concerns for thee: what you* require of me is im-

* Here Anselm, after finishing his exhortation to a particular person, continues his address to the Bishops collectively.

possible; I am abbot of a monastery in another kingdom, having an archbishop to whom I owe obedience, a prince to whom I owe subjection, and monks to whom I owe the ministration of counsel and assistance; to all these I am so strictly bound, that I cannot desert my monks without their permission, I cannot shake off the dominion of my prince without his acquiescence, nor can I refuse obedience to my primate, without his absolution, except at the peril of my soul." "All this," say they, "is of no importance, they will all consent." "It cannot be" says Anselm, "your wishes cannot be gratified." They then hurry him away to the king who lay dangerously ill, and relate the obstinacy of Anselm: the king, with a sorrow which almost brought tears into his eyes, said to him, "O Anselm, what is it you do? how can you thus consign me to eternal torments? Remember, I implore you, the faithful friendship which my father and mother ever entertained for you, and you for them; by this I conjure you to suffer not the body and soul of their son to perish together; I shall be utterly lost if I finish my days while I still hold the primacy in my own hands; aid me then, aid me, my Lord and father, and as-

sume that dignity on account of which I am so grievously afflicted, and fear to be still more afflicted in eternity." The words of the king produced a great effect on those who were near him, and they thus warmly inveighed against Anselm, who still excused himself, and was still unwilling to take upon himself so heavy a load, "what madness has occupied your mind? you afflict the king, you afflict him to death, you do not scruple to distress him even in his dying moments; know then that every annoyance, every oppression, every crime, which may hereafter afflict England, will be imputed to you, unless you this day avert them by receiving the pastoral care of the church." In these difficulties Anselm, turning to two monks who were near him, exclaimed "Ah, my brethren, why do you not assist me?" These words he uttered with such anguish of mind, that, as he was wont to declare, if the option had then been given him, he would rather, with the permission of God, have died on the spot than have been exalted to the Archiepiscopal throne. Baldwin answered him, "If it be the will of God that it should be thus, what are we who oppose the will

of God?" This speech was followed by tears and by gushes of blood from his nose, which shewed to all present with what regret of heart these words were uttered. Anselm, having heard the answer, cries out "Alas! how soon is thy staff broken!" The king then perceiving that the labour of all was ineffectual, directed that every one should fall at the feet of Anselm, to endeavour in that manner to extort his consent. But what happened? While they were falling down before him, he himself falls down before the king, nor could he in any wise be moved from his first determination: but the spectators being at length provoked, both by Anselm himself, and by their own inactivity in permitting such delay by listening to his refusals, called aloud "the pastoral staff! the pastoral staff!" and having seized his right arm, some began to draw him forward while he was struggling against them, others forced him along from behind, and they brought him at last close to the bed where the king lay sick. When the king offered him the pastoral staff, he closed his hand, and steadily refused to receive it; the bishops endeavoured to force open his fingers,

which were closely bent in his palm, that the staff might then be placed in his hand; but when they found, after some trial, that the attempt was vain, being only able to raise his forefinger which he soon bent back, and when they heard him utter some complaint from the tearing of his flesh, they at length rested the staff on his closed hand, and it was there supported by the hands of the bishops. The multitude then shouting "long live the bishop!" the clergy began to sing the Te Deum, with a loud voice, and they dragged, rather than conducted, Anselm to a neighbouring church; he still however resisted, calling out "what ye do is of no avail;" after the usual ceremonies were performed, Anselm returned to the king.—These things were transacted in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1093."

THE LIFE

OF

EDGAR ATHELING.

THE materials for a life of Edgar Atheling are very thinly scattered in the histories of our country; but as he is a person whose character, pretensions, and disappointments, have excited much interest in the English nation, I have imagined that the collection and orderly arrangement of even the few particulars which I could discover respecting him, might not be unfavourably received.

EDGAR ATHELING, or Edgar Clito, as he

is sometimes styled, was born in Hungary* about the year one thousand and forty; his father, Edward the Outlaw, was the son of Edmund Ironside, the paternal brother of the Confessor:† at the decease of this prince, who died without lawful issue, the right to the crown of England clearly devolved to Edgar, the sole surviving male of the family of Ethelred;‡ and his pretensions indeed seem to have been previously acknowledged, by

* Polydori Vergilii Anglic. Hist. Lib. VIII. p. 188. Sim. Dunelm.

† Eadmeri Hist. Nov. Lib. III. p. 56. Polydori Vergilii Lib. VIII. and Milton's History of England, Book 6.

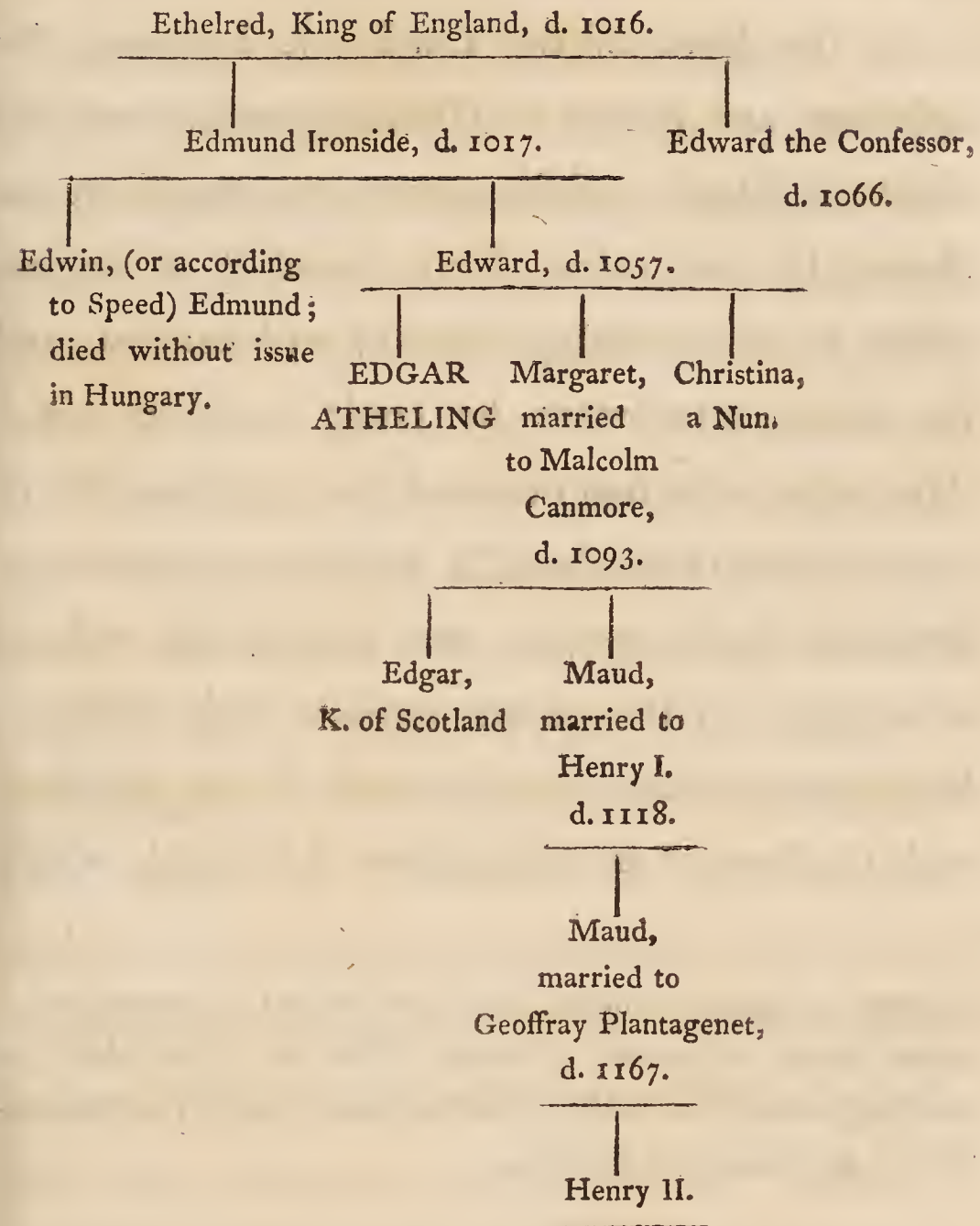
Edmund Ironside left two infant sons, Edwin and Edward. By order of Canute they were conveyed out of England in 1017. At length they found an asylum in Hungary. Edwin died there. Edward was recalled by Edward the Confessor, in 1057. He only lived to see the land of his nativity, from which he had been exiled during forty years. The children of Edward were Edgar, Margaret, and Christian.

Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, p. 6.

‡ The pedigree of the family is as follows:

Ethelred,

his receiving the title of Atheling,* which, in the



The armorial bearing of Edgar Atheling is usually deemed to have been nearly the same as that of the Confessor; viz. *Azure, a cross patonce between four martlets or;* but in an ancient manuscript (in the collection of J. Patteson, Esq. M. P.) I find the *cross formee* is attributed to him instead of the cross patonce.

* Atheling, or Ætheling, is generally understood by Saxon scholars

time of the Saxons, usually distinguished the heir apparent to the kingdom.

At the death of the Confessor, however, the influence and power of Harold prevailed over the rights of Edgar, and the usurper was seated on the throne by the voice of an assembly of nobles, whom he had probably collected with caution, and on whose attachment he could securely rely.* The prince who had obtained the endearing title of "the darling of England,"† was thus ungenerously neglected by his people; and acquiescing, without a struggle, in the unjust decision of the nobility, he appears to have been soothed, if not satisfied, with the honour of the Earldom of Oxford, which

scholars to signify "noble;" but I am inclined to suspect that it rather means, when used as above, "the *son* of the noble" (or the king's son) from *æthel*, "noble," and "*ing*," the termination of the Saxon patronymics.

* Milton's History of England, book 6. p. 117.

† Holinshed thus speaks of him, "a comely gentleman and a valiant, in whome also the whole hope of the English nation reposed, as appeareth by his accustomed bye-word *Edgar Atheling Englande's Dearling*.

was immediately conferred upon him by his courteous and successful rival.*

Although the wealth and consequence of the Godwyn family, of whom Harold was now the chief, had long been increasing in England under a series of preceding monarchs, yet we cannot but observe with some astonishment the height to which it was at length exalted. In the succession of the Saxon kings, the right of primogeniture had not indeed been strictly adhered to in every case,† and we find even at a much later period of English history, that the approving voice of the representatives of the nation was deemed a desirable, though not a necessary sanction, to the assumers of the throne;‡ yet till now, the succession to the crown of England, whether resting upon inherent right, or influenced by the will of the nobles, had been uniformly confined to some branch of

* Stow's Annales, p. 98.—MS. in Corporation Library, Norwich.

† Alfred, for instance, succeeded to the prejudice of his nephews. Speed's Historie of Great Britaine, p. 328.

‡ As in the cases of Henry IV. and Richard III.

the family by which the throne had been previously possessed. The riches and the rank of Harold, then, scarcely seem alone sufficient to account for his irregular exaltation; the absurd pretensions which he made to the crown, as the gift of the dying Edward,* must have operated still less powerfully in his favour; but it may not be unreasonably presumed, that the youth, the inexperience, the foreign education,† and above all, the strange inactivity of Edgar at this important crisis, were each unfavourable to his cause, and that the nation, who might well foresee the approaching attack of the Norman Duke,‡ were not ill pleased with the

* Speed, p. 403.

† Polydori Vergilii, Lib. VIII.

Edgar, at this time, was barely able to speak the English language. Speed, p. 400.

‡ "The Lordes stode in great doubt of William Duke of Normandie; who pretended a right to the crowne as lawful heyre appoynted by king Edward, for that he was akinne to him in the second and third degree."

Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. I. p. 282.

William of Poictiers gives a fuller account of the pretensions of the Conqueror, "Ipsius quoque viribus et consilio," says that historian,

exchange of such a leader as Edgar for the skilful, daring, and indefatigable Harold.

historian, "Edwardus, Hardechunuti vita finita, tandem in paterno solio coronatus resedit—Disceptantes etenim Angli deliberatione suis rationibus utilissima consenserunt, legationibus justa petentibus acquiescere, quam Normannorum vim experiri. Reducem eum non maximo præsidio militis Normannici cupidè sibi eum prestituerunt, ne manu validiore, si Comes Normannicus advenirit, subigerentur. Qui quid bello valeret, rumore satis noverant. Edwardus autem dum grato reputaret affectu, quam familiarem dilectionem in Normannia sibi impenderit Princeps Guillelmus, tam beneficiis quam linea consanguinitatis longè sibi conjunctior: quinetiam quam studioso ejus auxilio in regnum ab exilio fuit restitutus, potissimum aliquid atque gratissimum recompensare desiderans more honestorum; coronæ, quam per eum adeptus est, cum rata donatione hæredem statuere decrevit. Optimatium igitur suorum assensu per Rodbertum Cantuariensem Archipræsulem hujus delegationis mediatorem, obsides potentissimæ parentelæ Godwini filium et nepotem ei direxit." On these assertions, however, Baron Maseres has most justly remarked, "As to the account itself, it is probably not true. For Duke William (who was born in the year 1027) was but 15 years old in the year 1042, when Edward the Confessor succeeded to the crown of England: and it can hardly be supposed that at that early age, and surrounded as he was throughout all his minority, by powerful domestic enemies, he sent a threatening message to the English nobles exhorting them to admit Prince Edward to the throne of England upon pain of his displeasure: nor if he had sent such a message, would it at that time have had much effect. Nor does it seem likely that King Edward should, very soon after his admission to the throne of England,

The power of Harold, in whatever way it was obtained, speedily fell before the arms of William; and there was little reason to expect that the claims of Edgar, which had been before disregarded, should meet with any efficacious support against the energy of the victorious invader.

These claims however were now brought forward to notice by the very persons who had most keenly opposed them; Edwin and Morcar, the brethren of the queen, dreading, no doubt, the resentment of the Conqueror, and still hoping to retain, and perhaps to increase, their influence, through the gratitude or weakness of Edgar, hastily assembled their vassals, and prepared to assert, and to defend his rights;* many of the English nobility, the citizens of London, and the naval forces of the realm, readily joined the confederacy; and Aldred, the Archbishop of York, whose concur-

England, appoint Duke William, then so very young, to be his successor. But he may have done so fifteen or twenty years after." Maseres' Hist. Anglican. Select. Monument. p. 44. and see also pages 74 and 114 of the same work.

See too the beginning of the life of William I, in the Harleian Miscellany.

* Holinshed. vol. III. p. 1.

rence was deemed of great importance, enlisted with alacrity under the banners of Edgar; but the superstitious opinions of the age soon operated more powerfully upon the mind of the prelate than his honour or his patriotism; and dreading to oppose the man who fought under the protection of the spiritual father of Christendom, he meanly deserted his party, and set an example of fear and of baseness, which was so rapidly followed by the rest of the followers of Edgar, that in a very short time the whole of these haughty chieftains, together with the prince himself, were content to yield their allegiance to William.*

* Speed's Historie. p. 420. Ann. 1066. Milton's History of England, Book 6. p. 120.

Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, is said, by William of Poictiers, to have countenanced this confederacy.

Maseres' Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon. p. 139.

Edgar and the nobles swore fealty to William, at Beorcham, or Berkhamstead. Hoveden, p. 450.

William of Poictiers and Ordericus Vitalis affirm, that during the period of which I have now been speaking, Edgar was elected *King* of England; and he is said by others to have exercised a regal power in some ecclesiastical regulations; but I know not in what ecclesiastical affairs Edgar interfered, except in the confirmation of Brand in the Abbacy of Burh.

See Chronic. Saxon. p. 173.

The king, being thus relieved from the apprehension of a dangerous rebellion, and having in other respects settled the affairs of England to his satisfaction, passed over, for a short time, into Normandy, taking with him, as hostages, Edgar Atheling and other illustrious nobles of his English kingdom.*

Edgar, although treated with great respect and generosity by the Conqueror,† appears to have been much mortified by his degradation. The oppression of the Normans soon provoked the English to violence, and the Atheling was again invited by the restless and powerful Earls of Chester and

* Holinshed, vol. III. p. 297.

† Rapin, vol. I. p. 168. Notes. According to William of Malmsbury (p. 103), Edgar received a daily stipend of a pound of silver, and Baker, in his Chronicle (p. 27), adds, that "he had other large livings beside."

What these livings may have been we are now unable to determine with precision; in Domesday-book, p. 142, an account may be seen of the lands which were held by Edgar in *Edwinesreve Hundred, Hertford.* He also possessed some lands or lordships in Normandy, which appear to have in part descended to him from the Confessor, and to have been in part bestowed upon him after the death of the Conqueror, by Robert, Duke of Normandy.

of York, to place himself at the head of the malecontents; he acceded to their wishes; but the attempt of his followers was defeated by the vigilance of William, and he was obliged to consult his safety by flight.*

Edgar then, accompanied by Merlesweyn and many other friends, and taking with him his mother Agatha† and his sisters Christina and Margaret, embarked for Hungary, the place of his nativity;‡ but contrary winds drove them on the coast of Scotland,§ and they there found an asylum in the court of Malcolm Canmore. This generous and spirited prince not only received the fugitives with the most liberal hospitality, but heard with

* Speed's Historie, p. 422. Anno 1067.

† By some asserted to have been the daughter of Henry II, Emperor of Germany; by others, the daughter of Solyman, King of Hungary.

Holinshed, vol. I. p. 258. Papebroch. vit. St. Marg. 325.

‡ Matthew Paris, p. 4. Holinshed, vol. III. p. 6.

§ They anchored, according to Fordun, in the Sinus Margaretæ (now S. Margaret's Hoop.)

disdain the threats which were employed by William to extort the surrender of Edgar.*

The Atheling did not long remain inactive in the North, but hastened to encourage by his presence a revolt which had been excited in Northumberland.† A force under Cumins and Robert was immediately sent by William to oppose the insurgents, but the followers of Edgar surprised these commanders at Durham, and of the seven hundred Normans, of which their small army was composed, one only escaped with his life.‡ William exceed-

* Chronic. Saxon, p. 173. Anno 1067. Speed as above, Anno 1067. Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, p. 7.

Malcolm Canmore was the son of that Duncan who was assassinated by Macbeth (Chron. de Mailros, 156, and Fordun); he espoused Margaret, the sister of Edgar, soon after her arrival in Scotland; Maud, his third daughter by that lady, was married to Henry I, of England; the fruit of this marriage was Maud, the mother of Henry II, in whom the Saxon blood-royal was restored to the English throne. Eadmer and Rapin.

Sim. Dunelm. erroneously fixes the flight of Edgar into Scotland, in 1068.

According to the Chronic. de Mailros (p. 156 and 165, Gale) Margaret was betrothed to Malcolm in 1067, but was not married to him till 1070.

† Holinshed, vol. III. p. 6. ‡ January 28, 1068.

ingly exasperated by this disaster, immediately marched, although in the depth of winter, into the revolted country, and quickly succeeded in reducing it to obedience; many of the leaders of the insurrection fell into his hands, and were condemned to death; but Edgar was fortunate enough to effect his escape to Scotland.*

He was soon however drawn from his retreat again; the English fugitives in Norway had prevailed upon Sweyn to invade their country; and nearly three hundred vessels, containing a formidable force, had arrived safely in the Humber; Canute and Harold, the sons of Sweyn, were entrusted with the command of the expedition, and to these princes Edgar, with Waltheof, Marlesweyn, and other of his friends, immediately joined themselves;† the progress of the Danes was rapid; York yielded to their arms; and the Nor-

* Speed, p. 422. Anno 1068.

The Robert mentioned by Speed, appears to be the same person as *Rodbert*, whom the Saxon Chronicle (p. 174.) states to have been the newly appointed *Norman* Earl of Northumbria, in the time of the abovementioned revolt.

† Henry of Huntingdon, p. 369.

man garrison, in deserting it, having fired its suburbs, the flames extended to the city and consumed a considerable portion of it.* The Danes kept possession of the district which they had conquered, during the following winter; but William, as soon as the season permitted, attacked them with a formidable power, and completely routed them; Harold, Canute, and the remains of their army, fled to their ships, and Edgar Atheling again found safety in Scotland.†

The conqueror, having cruelly desolated the country which he had thus recovered,‡ retired with his victorious army to the South.

It is not easy to account for the supineness with which the greater part of the English appear to have viewed the struggle which thus terminated so

* Speed, p. 423. Anno 1068. According to Sim. Dunelm, the Danes arrived about the 11th of September, and took York on the 22d of October.

The Church of St. Peter, and a valuable library annexed to it, were entirely destroyed. Stow's Chronicle, p. 111.

† Speed, p. 423. Anno 1069. Holinshed, vol. III. p. 7.

‡ The famine, occasioned by the devastation of this district, was so excessive, that the inhabitants are said to have eaten human flesh.

unfortunately to Edgar;* irritated by the rapacity of the Normans, encouraged by the example of their prince, and allured as well by the success of the Danish succours, as by the promises of the King of Scotland,† the mass of the nation still remained inactive, and the most tempting prospect of suc-

* We learn, indeed, from one writer (Sim. Dunelm.) that the Northumbrians, under Gospatric, had joined the Danes, but were soon detached from the confederacy.

† "It undoubtedly had been concerted" says Dalrymple (p. 9.) "that the King of Scotland should march into England and co-operate with the invasion, but some unforeseen accident retarded his motions; at length, when it was too late, he led a numerous army through the western borders by Cumberland. He wasted Teesdale, routed the English who opposed him at Hunderdeskelde, penetrated into Cleveland, and from thence into the eastern parts of the Bishopric of Durham, spreading universal desolation. Not even the edifices sacred to religion were spared; they who fled into churches for refuge were burnt in their imagined sanctuary. Malcolm from an eminence beheld this scene of horror. He received tidings that his own territories in Cumberland were laid waste by the false Gospatric. Enraged at a mode of war resembling his own, he ordered his soldiers to slay without distinction of age or sex; but he seemed to mitigate their severity by commanding all the young men and maidens to be driven captive into Scotland. So great was the number of captives, says an English historian, that for many years they were to be found in every Scottish village, nay even in every Scottish hovel."

cess failed to provoke in them any effort to recover their fame or their liberty; possibly however the very source of their hope at this period might have had some tendency to check their exertions; and the ideas of desolation, of cruelty, and of insolence which they had so strongly and so justly associated with the name of a Dane, might not unreasonably have induced them to dread the accidental restoration of the power and influence of that nation as the most deplorable misfortune which could befall their country.

The calm which William enjoyed after the defeat of the Danes, was, however, of but short duration. About two years after that event, Edwin and Morcar, although they had experienced great lenity from the Conqueror, were apparently rouzed, by the sufferings of their countrymen, to make another attempt to rescue them from slavery. These patriotic, or ambitious, nobles were joined by Frederick, Abbot of St. Albans, a prelate of great wealth and extensive power; a formidable force was speedily raised; and Edgar Atheling, to whom the nation naturally turned its eyes on these occasions, was invited to head the revolters. The conspiracy was

scarcely formed, before William, with his usual activity, began to lay waste the possessions of those who were in arms against him; but the fierce opposition which he experienced excited in him much dismay; and finding himself unable to quell the insurgents by force, he readily adopted the mean, but politic, counsel, which Lanfrank suggested to him, of breaking the confederacy by a pretended acquiescence in their demands. With this insidious view he obtained a parley with the chief leaders at Berkhamstead, and he condescended to satisfy their desires by swearing on the Holy Evangelists, and on the relicks of the Church of St. Albans, to govern his kingdom in future by the laws of Edward the Confessor. Peace being thus restored, and the revolting parties dispersed, William gladly embraced the opportunity of completing his treacherous plan. He immediately entered the territories of his defenceless enemies, and gave them up to unbounded slaughter and pillage. Edgar is said to have again reached Scotland in safety; Edwin fell a sacrifice to the indignation of his own followers; Morcar, Hereward, and the Bishop of Durham retreated to the Isle of Ely, which afforded them a

natural protection, and which they strongly fortified. But William suddenly invested their station, and by stopping the passages on the east side, and forming a cause-way through the fens, of two miles in length, he at last succeeded in reducing them. Morcar and Hereward had the good fortune to escape, but the Bishop of Durham was taken prisoner, was confined in the Abbey of Abington, and finally perished by hunger.*

Edgar, after these repeated disappointments, remained about a year in Scotland; he then appears to have despaired of making any impression on his adversary, for passing over into Normandy, he

* Holinshed, vol. III. p. 306. The share which Edgar Atheling took in this revolt is not very clearly ascertainable from our ancient historians. Matthew Paris and Ingulph state that the commander on this occasion was *Hereward*, a knight of great prowess, and nephew of the Abbot of Peterborough. The Saxon Chronicle also (p. 181.) notices this rebellion, and the leaders of it, among whom the name of Edgar does not occur; it moreover informs us *that all those leaders, except Hereward alone, were taken prisoners by William himself in person;* a circumstance which could not possibly have happened to Edgar Atheling and been passed over in silence by all the historians of that time. Upon the whole I should be inclined to believe, that even if Edgar did come forward previously to the peace made by William and the revolters, he had no concern in the hostilities which so suddenly succeeded that peace.

there sought, and obtained, a reconciliation with William.*

From this period, a long silence, respecting the fate of Edgar, is preserved by the Annalists of England; but we learn, that about a year before the death of the Conqueror, our unfortunate prince had been greatly irritated by the treatment which he received from him;† his discontent does not appear, however, to have discovered itself by any

* Matth. Paris. Hist. Ang. p. 7. Stow, p. 114. Anno 1073.

† Chronic. Sax. p. 187. Anno 1085.

The suspicion, which is expressed by an anonymous writer, that the indignation of Edgar arose from his being deprived of his possessions in Normandy, is in some degree countenanced by the following passage from the Annales Waverlienses (p. 133.)

"Anno regis Willielmi XX. rex tenuit Curiam suam apud Wintoniam, postea ad Kalendas Augusti fuit apud Salisburiam, ibique venerunt coram eo Barones sui et omnes terrarii hujus regni, qui alicujus pretii erant, cujuscunque fœdi fuissent, et omnes homines sui effecti sunt, et juraverunt illi fidelitatem contra omnes homines. Postea rex, adquisitis magnis thesauris ab hominibus suis, supra quos aliquam causam invenire poterat sive juste sive injuste, deinde ivit in Wicht, et sic in *Normanniam*, et *Edgar Atheling cognatus regis Edwardi recessit à rege quia non erat cum eo honorifice; sed Dominus Omnipotens det illi honorem.*"

The warm affection displayed towards Edgar by the composer of this passage, who was probably a *Saxon*, is peculiarly striking.

act of violence, but having obtained the permission of William, he past over into Apulia,* accompanied by two hundred followers in arms: what other views he might have entertained in this excursion, besides that of removing himself from a situation which was now become intolerable to him, are not very easy to be ascertained: he might possibly have been prompted to it by the desire of uniting his fortunes with those of the revolted Normans, who had quitted their country after their defeat by Duke William, and who had made themselves masters of that province which Edgar now chose for an asylum.†

The length of his residence in Apulia could not have exceeded four or five years, for, early in the reign of William Rufus, we find our amiable prince engaged in the friendly office of reconciling

* Stow, p. 121. Anno 1086. Holinshed, vol. III. p. 14.

† Recherches et Antiquitez de Neustrie par Bourgueville (1588) p. 15, and Sir W. Temple's Introduction to the History of England.

About the time at which Edgar departed for Apulia his sister Christina entered as a nun into the monastery of Ramsey.

Stow, as above.

that monarch to Malcolm of Scotland;* Rufus had previously cherished a dislike to Edgar, and had lately banished him from Normandy; but his conduct on this occasion, seconded by the kind interference of Robert, the brother of Rufus, regained to him the regard of the King.†

The proof which was afterwards exhibited by Rufus of the warmth of that regard was surely somewhat extraordinary. At the decease of Malcolm Canmore, Edgar, his fourth,‡ but eldest surviving son, was unjustly excluded from the succession, and a civil war was excited in Scotland, by the jarring pretensions of Donald and of Duncan to the crown of that kingdom; the former of these was the brother, and the latter the illegitimate son of Malcolm Canmore; while Donald was in possession of the throne, he banished the English from his dominions; and Edgar Atheling, who seems to have accompanied Malcolm into Scotland after

* Annales Waverleienses (in Hist. Ang. Script. v. vol. II.) p. 137.

† Stow, p. 130. Holinshed, vol. III. p. 18. Anno 1091.

‡ Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. II. p. 260. Anno 1097.

his reconciliation with Rufus, immediately fled.—Together with his nephews, whom he had kindly taken under his protection, he sought the Court of England,* and by his representations and entreaties, he greatly disposed the King to interfere both justly and effectually in the affairs of Scotland. After the most liberal offers had been vainly made to Donald to induce him to resign his usurped sovereignty, an army was at length raised by the order of Rufus, and the command of it was very generously entrusted to Edgar Atheling: with this force, and accompanied by his nephew, he immediately marched into Scotland; the holy standard of St. Cuthbert was displayed in his ranks,† and

* Hovedon, p. 465. Rapin, vol. I. p. 186.

† "At his coming to Durham he was admonished by a vision in his sleepe, that if he tooke with him the baner of St. Cuthbert he should have victorie. On the morrow after he came from the Abbey Church, where first hearing divine service, when the same was ended, he displayed the foresaid baner, and caused it to be borne before him in that journey."

Holinshed, vol. II. p. 260.

Cuthbert was a monk and saint of great celebrity in the North of Britain. He was born about the year 600, was educated by the Scottish monks in the famous abbey of Ilgii (or I'colmkill), and

excited in the enemy a superstitious dread which greatly contributed to his success; the numerous army which was opposed to him by Donald, was speedily routed; the usurper himself was taken prisoner, and the younger Edgar was firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors.*

It may reasonably be conjectured, that it was nearly at this period that Edgar formed the close connection with Robert of Normandy,† the eldest

and he thence past into Northumberland, by the invitation of King Egfred, with a view of converting the Saxons of that district. He finally settled, and founded a monastery, in Lindisfarne (or Holy Island). The banner which he consecrated, probably that of the King his patron, may be reasonably supposed to have been preserved in Cuthbert's monastery, and to have been thence removed to *the Church of Durham*, when the episcopal See was transferred from Holy Island to that city, in the year 994. See Vit. Sanct. and Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV.

* Holinshed as above. Annales Waverleienses, p. 141. Sim. Dunelm. 233. Fordun. v. 26, 28.

Edgar was the first King of Scotland who was *anointed*, "for his mother Queene Margaret," says Holinshed, "purchased, a little before her death, of Urbane the Pope, that from henceforthe all the Kings of Scotland should be anoynted."

† The beginning of this intimacy may perhaps be traced back to a year or two previous to this time, as appears from Robert's intercession for Edgar abovementioned.

son of the Conqueror, which soon after induced him to follow that prince in his expedition to the Holy-land. For this undertaking he was splendidly equipped by the King of England,* and was entrusted with an army of twenty thousand men, collected in Scotland and the adjacent isles.† Few particulars of his conduct, on this occasion, have been handed down to us; but it is said to have gained him the esteem of his commanders.‡ Upon his arrival in Asia,§ he was admitted, with his forces, into Laodicea, and held that city in the name of Duke Robert, till it was given up to the Greek Emperor, in order to obtain for the Norman prince a safe retreat into Europe. After the departure of Robert and his friends, Edgar proceeded with his army, and served, under Baldwin

* Sir W. Temple's Introduction to English History, p. 225.

† Lyttleton's History of Henry II. (8vo.) vol. i. p. 157, &c.

‡ Sir W. Temple as above.

§ William of Malmsbury informs us (p. 103) that Edgar joined the crusaders at the time in which Baldwin was besieged at Rama, but this event does not appear to have taken place till after Edgar's return.

the first, in different expeditions; in these, however, although without any impeachment of his skill or courage, his troops were gradually destroyed; and after rejecting, from a warm attachment to his country, the offers of an honourable establishment, which were made to him both by the Emperor of Greece and of Germany, he returned to England,* and soon after associated himself again with Robert, in the war which he waged, for the Dukedom of Normandy, with Henry the first. In this short contest the King of England was victorious, and Robert, together with his friend, were compelled to yield themselves prisoners at the battle of Tenerchebray; Robert was cruelly confined for life in the castle of Cardiff, but Edgar was permitted to depart unpunished.†

Of this permission he immediately took advantage, and returned to England; and the rest of his days appear to have been past in repose, if not in obscurity, as we find no other particulars re-

* Lyttleton as above.

† Speed, p. 455. Annales Waverleienses, p. 144. Lyttleton as above.

corded of him but that he again visited Scotland at a very advanced period of life, and died, in that kingdom,* in the year eleven hundred and twenty.†

The character of Edgar cannot, perhaps, be very accurately collected from the scanty materials of his biography; it seems not, however, to have been distinguished either by very striking excellencies or very glaring defects; the prepossessing title which he once obtained of the "darling of England," appears to have been rather conferred on him from a national partiality to his race, than as the just tribute to his own desert; rather from an expectation of what he might be, than from any thing that he actually was. His courage was undoubtedly more prominent than his intellect; but although he might not be eminent, he certainly was not deficient in understanding;‡ the

* The Spelman MSS. in the possession of J. Patteson, Esq M. P.

† Bryant's Genealogical Table.

‡ The *gross imbecility* of intellect which is so hastily imputed by

purity of his honour, although otherwise apparently unsullied, must be confessed to have been in some degree stained by his appearing more than once in arms against William, to whom he had taken, though doubtless with reluctance, an oath of allegiance; from the warm attachment which Edgar discovered to Robert, as well as from several traits recorded in this narrative, we may not unreasonably conclude, that in his disposition and sentiments he bore much resemblance to that liberal and affectionate, but careless, impetuous, and capricious prince; and on the whole it is not very easy to determine, whether the clemency of three successive kings, to whom Edgar was indebted for his life, arose most from the respect, the compassion, or the contempt with which they viewed him.

by Dalrymple to Edgar, is by no means to be inferred from his general conduct, and much less from the contemptuous expressions respecting him, which have been used by Malmsbury; and the story, extracted from that writer by Dalrymple, of Edgar's giving up his pension for a horse, is sufficiently explained by a passage, which the same author has himself quoted from the composer of the index to Malmsbury, from which we gather, that the pension spoken of was the pension of *one day only*, an extravagant

gant price for a horse at that period.* See Dalrymple's Annals, p. 7, 8, and 18. and William of Malmsbury, p. 103.

* The price of a hunter at this time (as appears from Domesday Book) was about 20 solidi; Edgar's daily pension was a pound of silver, that is, 72 solidi.

THE LIFE

OF

EDMUND MORTIMER.

ABOUT the period in which the houses of York and Lancaster were preparing to determine by the sword their respective pretensions to the crown of England, the lawful heir of that kingdom expired, almost forgotten, after his throne had been usurped with impunity for the space of nearly thirty years.

The person to whom I allude is Edmund Mortimer.

EDMUND MORTIMER was the eldest son of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, by Eleanor Holland; Roger Mortimer was the eldest son of Philippa, the *daughter* and *heiress* of Lionel Duke of

Clarence,* who was the *third* son of Edward III, and who did not survive his father.† William of Hatfield, the *second* son of the same king, died young and without issue, and consequently at the decease of Richard II (the only lawful child of Edward the Black Prince), the right to the crown of England clearly devolved to the family of the Mortimers.

* "Lionell Plantagenet, otherwise called Lionell of Antwerp, the sonne of Edward III. married Elizabeth, daughter and heir to William Bannyge, Earle of Ulster, and after was in her right Earle of Ulster, and after King Edward III, in the 33d year of his reigne, created him Duke of Clarence, and in the 34th year of his reigne, he was made regent of Fraunce, he married to his second wife the daughter and heir of the Duke of Myllant, by whom he had no issue, and by his first wife he had issue Philip, his only daughter and heir, married to Edmund Mortimer." The Spelman MSS. in the possession of J. Patteson, Esq. M. P.

The word Bannyge, in the MS. above-quoted, is probably an error, as the Earl of Ulster whose daughter was espoused by Lionel, appears to have been William de Burgo or Burgh.

See Sandford's Genealog. Hist. p. 219.

† Anno Domini 1367, Leonellus dux Clarentiæ, obiit in natali S. Mariæ, ut fertur, potionatus.

Lelandi Collect. vol. I. p. 251.

According to Walsingham (Hist. Ang. Edw. III. p. 132.) he died in April, 1368.

During the reign of Richard the second, this right was decidedly established ;* but as the father

* In the 9th of Richard II. Roger Mortimer *(the father of our Edmund)*, was declared by the parliament to be the presumptive heir to the throne. Richard, who seems to have been much attached to him, promoted him to the honour of Governor of Ireland, in which station he fell, in opposing a rebellion in that country, in the year 1398. Collin's Peerage (4th edit.) vol. II. p. 94. Rapin, vol. I. p. 470. Speed, p. 740.

This Roger Mortimer, is introduced into that very amusing poem the "Mirour for Magistrates," and is represented as relating several particulars respecting his family and his fall; the æra of his death is fixed, however, in that work, at an earlier period than is specified above: the following is the most interesting and pleasing part of the narration of Mortimer.

To count my kin, Dame Philip was my mother,
Daughter and heir of douty Lionell,
The third King Edward's sonne as stories tell.
My father hight Sir Edmund Mortimer,
True Earle of March, whence I was after Earle,
By just descent these two my parents were,
Of which the one of Knighthood bare the fearle,
Of Womanhood the other was the pearle,
Through their desert so call'd of every wight,
Till death them took, and left me in their right.

While fortune unto me her grace did deigne,
King Richard's grace, the second of that name,
(Whose looser life did soon abridge his reigne),
Made me his mate in earnest and in game:
The Lords themselves so well allowed the same,

That

of Edmund Mortimer did not survive that unfortunate king, Edmund himself became, at the decease of Richard, the lawful heir to the throne.

That through my titles duly coming down,
I was made heire apparent to the Crowne.

But seldom joy continueth trouble void,
In greatest charge cares greatest do ensue,
The most possest are ever most annoid,
In largest seas sore tempests lightly brue,
The freshest colours soonest fade the hue,
In thickest place is made the deepest wound,
True proof whereof myself too soon have found.

For whilst fair fortune lul'd me in her lap,
And gave me gifts more than I did require,
The subtile dame behind me set a trap,
Whereby to dash and lay all in the mire:
The Irish men against mee did conspire,
My lands of Ulster from mee to have reft.
Which heritage my mother had mee left.

And whiles I there to set all things in stay,
(Omit my toils and trouble thitherward)
Among mine owne with my retinue lay,
The wilder men whom I did not regard,
(And had therefore the reckles man's reward),
When least I thought set on me in such number,
That from my corpse my life they rent asunder.

Mirour for Magistrates (Edit. 1610.) p. 273.

The pretensions of the house of Mortimer are well illustrated by part of a scene in Shakspeare.*

YORK, SALISBURY, AND WARWICK.

YORK.—Then thus—
Edward the third, my Lords, had seven sons;
The first, Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales;
The second William of Hatfield; and the third
Lionel, Duke of Clarence; next to whom,
Was John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster:
The fifth was Edmund Langley, Duke of York;
The sixth was Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloster;
William of Windsor was the seventh, and last.
Edward, the Black Prince, died before his father;
And left behind him Richard, his only son,
Who, after Edward the Third's death, reign'd king;
Till Henry Bolinbroke, Duke of Lancaster,
The eldest son and heir of John of Gaunt,
Crown'd by the name of Henry the fourth,
Seiz'd on the realm; deposed the rightful king:

* Second part of Henry VI. Act II. Scene 2. See too Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. III. p. 412 and 448.

Sent his poor queen to France, from whence she came,
And him to Pomfret; where, as both you know,
Harmless Richard was murder'd traiterously.

WAR.—Father, the duke has told the truth;
Thus got the house of Lancaster the throne.

YORK.—Which now they hold by force and not by right;
For Richard the first son's heir, being dead,
The issue of the next son should have reign'd.

SAL.—But William of Hatfield dy'd without an heir.

YORK.—The third son, Duke of Clarence, (from whose line
I claim the crown) had issue. Phillippe a daughter,
Who married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
Edmund had issue—Roger, Earl of March:
Roger had issue—Edmund, Anne, and Eleanor.

SAL.—This Edmund in the reign of Bolinbroke
As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;
And but for Owen Glendower had been king,
Who kept him in captivity, till he dy'd.
But to the rest.

But to the rest.] In the above speech of Salisbury, Shakspeare

YORK.—His eldest sister, Anne,
My mother, being heir unto the crown,
Married Richard, Earl of Cambridge; who was son
To Edmund Langley, Edward the third's fifth son,
By her I claim the kingdom: she then was heir
To Roger, Earl of March; who was the son
Of Edmund Mortimer; who married Philippe,
Sole daughter unto Lionel, duke of Clarence:
So if the issue of the elder son
Succeed before the younger, I am king.

WAR.—What plain proceeding is more plain than this?
Henry does claim the crown from John of Gaunt,
The fourth son: York claimeth it from the third.
Till Lionel's issue fails, his should not reign:
It fails not yet; but flourishes in thee,
And in thy sons, fair slips of such a stock.

It will be here proper to observe, that some inaccuracy has arisen in the history of the Mortimer family, from confounding with Edmund Mortimer,

speare has erred (as will be shewn in the sequel) by confounding the *uncle* of our Edmund Mortimer with Edmund Mortimer himself; and the Anne, who is mentioned in the next speech, was *not* the sister of this *uncle* (whose name was also Edmund), but of Edmund, Earl of March, and son of Roger.

Earl of March, and heir to the crown, *another Edmund Mortimer*, who was a second, or younger, son of Philippa,* and consequently the *uncle* of the former; and it is still difficult to ascertain with precision which of these two persons was the real actor in some of the transactions, in which both the one and the other are, by different writers, supposed to have been engaged.†

From a careful examination, however, of those transactions, I am very fully persuaded that Edmund Mortimer, the *uncle* of the Earl of March, (and *not*, as has been erroneously supposed, the Earl of March himself), was taken prisoner by Glendower, in the year 1400,‡ that the same

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 138. Nichol's Royal Wills, p. 113.

† As by Shakspeare (in his Henry IV, and in the latter part of the scene above quoted), and also by Camden (Radnorshire), and Speed.

‡ Holinshed (vol. III. p. 520, 591), and some other writers of note, inform us that the Mortimer who was taken by Glendower at this period, was the *Earl of March;* but it appears from Dugdale (Baronage, p. 150 and 151), that *both* the uncle and the nephew were, at different periods, prisoners to the Welch

nobleman espoused, in 1402, the daughter of this celebrated Welch Chieftain;* that he soon after became a confederate, with his father-in-law, in the grand rebellion which was excited by Northumberland† and Percy; and that he survived but a

Welch Chieftain; and as *that* Mortimer who fell into his hands in 1400, *soon after* married his daughter and *died*, it is plain that he *could not be* the Earl of March, who (as will be seen in the sequel) was not more than eight years of age at this period, and who *undoubtedly lived more than twenty years after it*. I shall have occasion to speak again of the time in which the *younger* Mortimer appears to have been in the power of Glendower.

Since the above note was written, I learned, from a communication obligingly made by Mr. Malone, that the opinion which I had expressed was decidedly proved to be just by the following passage in the *original* manifesto set forth by the Percies, previously to the battle of Shrewsbury; "Item ponimus, dicimus, et probare intendimus quod ubi Edmundus Mortymer *Frater* Rogeri Mortymer nuper Comitis Marchiæ et Ulst̃. fuit captus per Owen Glendor, &c." A mis-translation of this passage by Hall gave rise (as Mr. Malone imagines) to the erroneous opinion which has been adopted on this subject.

From Pennant's Tour in Wales it also appears that the Welch writers *deny* the capture of the *younger* Mortimer by Glendower.

* Stow's Annales, p. 328. Holinshed, vol. III. p. 521.

† Speed asserts (p. 755) that this nobleman married Elizabeth,

very short time the extinction of that rebellion,* which was speedily quelled after the decisive victory of Henry, in 1403.†

Having thus dismissed the concerns of the elder Mortimer, we shall be able to proceed more clearly in our account of the younger, who is the principal object of enquiry in this Essay.

Edmund Mortimer, then, the son of Roger, was born, at New Forest, on the sixth of November, 1392.‡ At the death of Richard II, his indisputable right to the crown appears to have attracted some notice; but no successful appeal could be made to it against the power and ambition of

beth, daughter of Philippa and of Edmund 3d Earl of March; but this lady is said by other writers to have espoused Henry Percy the son of Northumberland; an assertion which is abundantly confirmed by the following passage in the will (dated 1380) of the abovementioned 3d Earl of March, "Item nous devisons a notre *fitz* Mons'r Henry Percy un petite nouche en le corps de cerf et teste d'egle" Royal Wills, p. 115.

* According to Speed he died even before the contest was terminated.

† Rapin, vol. I. p. 494, 495.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 151.

Henry IV; and at the period in which that monarch was seated upon the throne, the Earl of March was prudently removed, from a scene of bustle and danger, to his domains at Wigmore.*

It has been asserted by some, that Edmund Mortimer was personally engaged in the revolt of Northumberland, which has been already noticed; but of the truth of this assertion I can find no decided proofs; and although the confederates on that occasion undoubtedly engaged to support his claims to a certain extent,† yet his youth must necessarily have excluded him from taking an active part in the rebellion, and the vindication of his pretensions were in all probability entirely entrusted to the greater experience and zeal of his uncle Edmund.‡

But although the rebellion of Northumberland terminated very unfortunately to the cause of Mortimer, the claims of the family were soon after

* Rapin, vol. I. p. 484.

† Speed's Historie, p. 735. Holinshed, vol. III. p. 521.

‡ "Yea this meek Mortimer (the younger Edmund) was content to wave the crown, so be it he might but enjoy his private patrimony." Fuller's Worthies, p. 56. (Suffolk).

brought forward by Scroope;* but neither on this occasion again does Edmund himself appear to have been active, and the injudicious and hasty attempt of his friends was as hastily defeated.

While the uncle of the Earl of March was living, he attracted the notice of Henry much more strongly than the nephew; but soon after the decease of that nobleman, either the design of Scroope, or some imprudent conduct, with which we are unacquainted, of Edmund Mortimer himself, awakened the fears of the king; and he began to discover much anxiety to secure the person of a youth, whose right to the throne of England was so clearly superior to his own: the wishes of Henry were soon gratified; and the Earl of March, as well as his brother, were seized, and confined in Windsor Castle about the year 1406.†

* Rapin, vol. i. p. 496.

† "He (Edmund Mortimer) was by Henry the fourth delivered in ward to Henry Prince of Wales, his son. Out of whose custody he was shortly after stolen away by the Lady Despencer; but being found out again in Chiltham woods, they kept him afterwards under stricter guard."

Dugdale's Baronage, p. 151.

"In

After some attempts to escape from confinement, which were attended by no decisive success, Edmund at length eluded the vigilance of Henry, for we are informed that, at the accession of Henry V, the Earl of March *voluntarily surrendered himself* to that Prince,* and experienced from him a

"In the same year (7th Henry IV) the king so much con-"fided in Sir John Pelham, that till the meeting of the next "Parliament, he committed to his keeping in the castle of "Pevensey, Plantagenet Duke of York, who was accused of "*taking out of the castle of Windsor* the *sons* of Roger Morti-"mer, Earl of March." Collins' Peerage, vol. II. p. 94; and see too Stow, p. 332.

But though these unfortunate noblemen were thus liberated, they very soon after fell again into the hands of Henry, for (as Collins continues) "Two years after this (11th Henry IV) the king commits to Sir John Pelham the keeping of the *Earl of March and his brother,* sons of Roger Earl of March, who had been declared heir apparent to the throne." Vol. II. p. 95.

It appears that when the Duke of York succeeded (as has just been noticed) in procuring the escape of Edmund Mortimer and his brother from Windsor castle, he delivered them *for protection* into the hands of Owen Glendower; (Collins as above); this circumstance has probably given rise to the assertion mentioned p. 306, that the Earl of March himself, as well as his uncle Edmund, was taken prisoner by the Welch Chieftain.

* "The Earl of March himself came and put himself into his (Henry's) hands, to give him a convincing proof of his sincere intention to leave him in peaceable possession of the crown." Rapin, vol. I. p. 505.

liberality of treatment which might well have been expected.

During the reign of that amiable and generous monarch, Edmund Mortimer was not only allowed the full enjoyment of his liberty and possessions,* but he was permitted to head a party of the English troops in France, and was also honoured by the king with the important station of Lieutenant of Normandy.† In return for these, and other instances of kindness, which were shewn to him by Henry, he uniformly displayed the greatest zeal and fidelity in his service; he revealed to him, just before his departure from Southampton, the traiterous designs of the Earl of Cambridge,‡ and

* Hardyng's Chronicle, p. 229.

† Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 151.

‡ The particulars of this affair are thus recorded by Stow (p. 346): "The chiefest of them (the conspirators) was Henry Scroope, Lord Treasurer, the second Richard Earle of Cambridge, and Sir Thomas Gray, a knight of the North; these had made Edmond Earle of March to swear upon a booke, not to disclose their counsell, and then told him that they thought to slay the King, and to make the said Edmond King; the which if he refused to take upon him they would slay him: whereupon the Earle prayed them to give him one hour's space to take advisement what

in the list of illustrious men who attended the funeral of that celebrated monarch, we find the name of Edmund Mortimer.*

what was best to doe; which being granted, the Earle went secretly and told the King thereof, who caused them forthwith to be apprehended."

* An interesting detail of this funeral is given by Holinshed (vol. III. p. 584).

"His bodie embalmed and closed in lead, was laid in a chariot roiall, richlie apparelled with cloth of gold, upon his coffin was laid a representation of his person, adorned with robes, diadem, scepter, and ball, like a king; the which chariot, six horsses drew richlie trapped, with several appointments; the first with the armes of St. George, the second with the armes of Normandie, the third of king Arthur, the fourth of St. Edward, the fifth of France, and the sixth with the armes of England and France. On the same chariot gave attendance, James, king of Scots, the principal mourner, king Henrie's uncle, Thomas Duke of Excester, Richard Earle of Warwicke the *Earle of March Edmund*, the Earle of Stafford Humfrie, the Earle of Mortaigne Edmund Beaufort, the Lord Fitz Hugh Henrie, the Lord Hungerford Walter, Sir Robert Robsert Lord Bourchier, Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, and the Lord Crumwell, were the other mourners. The Lord Lovell, the Lord Audelie, the Lord Morleie, the Lord Sowch bare the baners of Saints and Aumuries, as they then were called; the Baron of Dudlie bare the standard, and the Earle of Longuste the baner. The hatchments were carried onelie by Capteins to the number of twelve, and round about the chariot rode five hundred men at arms, all in blacke armour, their horsses

It was probably at this period of his life that he espoused Anne, the daughter of the Earl of Stafford.*

At the accession of Henry VI, the Earl of March appears to have made no effort to assert his rights; and from this circumstance, as well as from the remarkable mildness of the new monarch, we may safely infer, that Henry continued to grant to him the same indulgence as he had formerly received.†

horsses barbed blacke, and they with the but end of their speares upwards. Besides these on every side of the chariot went three hundred persons holding long torches, lords bearing baners, banerols, and penons."

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 151.

† Some vague and discordant accounts indeed are preserved by Fuller, Weever, and Hall, of Mortimer being confined for 20 years in the Castle of Trim; but these reports are entirely unsupported by any historic evidence, or rather indeed are in direct opposition to it. We have already seen that Mortimer had recovered his liberty at the death of Henry IV, and during the reign of that king, the place of his confinement had undoubtedly been Windsor Castle; now if we even suppose that he was sent to the Castle of Trim at the accession of Henry VI, it was impossible that he should have been twenty years in confinement there, as he lived only *two* years after that period. Weever quotes as his authority on this occasion, Camden's Radnorshire, but

I am aware that a celebrated scene in Shakspeare* may be urged against this conclusion; but Shakspeare, though certainly well acquainted even with many of the minutiæ of English history, can hardly be deemed a decisive evidence in a case of this kind;† and it appears by no means improbable, that in order to increase the interest of his piece, he has knowingly sacrificed historic truth, in some degree, and has moved us by the sufferings of *John*, and not by those of *Edmund* Mortimer.

but Camden says not a word of Mortimer's confinement; farther proofs of the absurdity of these reports will appear in the sequel.

* The scene in the first part of Henry VI, in which Edmund Mortimer, broken down by age, and a prisoner in the tower, yields his pretensions to the crown to his nephew Richard Plantagenet.

† One error of our great Poet, with respect to the Mortimer family, has been already noticed; and the scene of which I am now speaking is a decided proof of that error; Shakspeare makes Salisbury assert (as may be seen a few pages back) that the Edmund Mortimer who was heir to the crown, died when a captive with Owen Glendower, and now he introduces the *same heir to the crown* as dying in the reign of Henry VI. Shakspeare too appears, in common with some other writers, to have adopted a very erroneous opinion of the extreme old age of Edmund Mortimer, at the period of his decease.

Sir John Mortimer was undoubtedly confined in the Tower in the second year of the reign of Henry VI; he was a man of a violent and ambitious temper; and was probably detained in prison, and certainly condemned to death, on account of his restlessness and intrigues: among other accusations which were adduced against him, he was charged with saying "that hee would goe into Wales unto *the Earle of the Marches*, and there hee would raise forty thousand men, and with that power he would enter the land, and the Earl of March was but a daw, save that hee was the greatest, noblest, and worthiest of blood, and should be king by right of inheritance, and *that hee himself was next rightfull heire to the said crowne** after the said Earle of March, wherefore

* If this assertion be *true* (which is also attributed to the same person by Speed) it must necessarily follow that Sir John Mortimer was the *brother* of our Edmund. Dugdale, and others, resting upon his authority, inform us that the name of the brother (and formerly fellow prisoner) of Edmund, was *Roger;* and Mr. Malone, in some judicious remarks which he was pleased to make on this Essay, expresses himself in favour of that opinion, and contends that Sir John Mortimer was the *uncle* and not the brother of Edmund. Against such authorities I would certainly

if the said Earle would not take upon him the crown and rule of the land, hee said that hee else would."*

From these expressions there is every reason to

certainly argue with the greatest diffidence; but I trust I may be permitted to observe, that no *uncle* of Edmund Mortimer could possibly have those pretensions which were advanced by Sir John; Edmund Mortimer was childless, and consequently the presumptive heir to his rights must have been, *not his uncle*, but his *brother*, if still living; or, in case of his decease, the *Lady Anne*.

In the *French* Edition of Rapin I observe that Sir John Mortimer is expressly called the *brother* of our Edmund; but Tindal, though without quoting any authority, has chosen, in his translation, to change the word brother, to *uncle*.* Neither from the Mortimer Pedigree (in Dugdale's Baronage) nor from any other part of his Memoires of that family, does Sir John Mortimer appear to have been the uncle of Edmund. Dugdale has recorded of our Edmund's brother that he died without issue, but the time of his decease is not specified by that writer.

If any confusion should still remain (though I trust it will not) respecting the persons engaged in the transactions above narrated, the following genealogical sketch of part of the Mortimer family (corrected by the suppositions advanced in this Essay), will probably remove it.

Edmund

* Stow, p. 365. See too Speed, p. 814.

* He may possibly have grounded this change upon Sandford's assertion (Genealog. Hist. p. 222), but the passages referred to by that writer, in Fabian and Speed, give not the slightest support to his opinion.

infer that Edmund Mortimer continued to enjoy his rank, his property, and his liberty at this period.

Edmund Mortimer, 3d Earl of March. } Philippa, daughter of Lionel of Clarence.

Roger Mortimer, 4th Earl of March, b. 1361, killed 1398. married to Eleanor Holland, who died about 1406.	Edmund Mortimer, b. 1357, d. ab. 1404. married to Glendower's daughter.	Elizabeth, b. 1375. married to Henry Percy.
EDMUND MORTIMER, heir to the crown, b. 1392, d. 1425, s. p. married Anne, daughter to the Earl of Stafford.	John Mortimer? put to death just before the decease of Edmund. s. p.	*Anne*, married to Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge.

Richard, D. of York.

Edward IV.

The Mortimers descended from the niece of Gonora, wife of Richard I, Duke of Normandy* (in 942); the *titles* borne by the family were first, Lord of Wigmore, and afterwards Earl of March and Ulster, and Lord of Clare.

The possessions of the Mortimers (according to Fuller) were, In England, Clare-Castle, with many other manors in Suffolk.

In

* Several particulars of the genealogy of the Mortimers occur in Liber Niger Scacc. &c. vol. II. p. 527. (Hearne's Edition).

These enjoyments, however, speedily ceased; from some cause, which is not well understood, he was conveyed into Ireland, but with an honour-

In the Marches of Wales, whence they had their honour, Wigmore in Herefordshire, Ludlow in Shropshire.

In Ireland, Trim, Conaught, with large lands in Ulster.

A full account of the lands and lordships of which Edmund Mortimer died seized, may be found in Dugdale's Baronage, p. 151.

The armorial bearing of the Mortimers, which is somewhat remarkable, is *Barry of six or and azure, an inescutcheon argent, on a chief of the first three pallets between two gyrons of the second.*

In a MS. of considerable antiquity in the Corporation Library, Norwich, the inescutcheon in the arms of Roger Mortimer is *ermine.*

The seal of Edmund Mortimer is thus described by Sandford (in his Genealogical History, p. 225) "Upon it is his complete achievement, his shield after the manner of that time, hangs cornerways, and is charged with the arms of *Mortimer and Burgh quarterly;* upon his Healme a plume of Feathers issuing out of a Ducal Coronet, the Healme is mantled, and the Escocheon supported by two Lions rampant guardant, with their tails turned between their hinder legs and over their backs (with which Lions, being argent, *King Edward the fourth supported his Escocheon Royal,* and the standard of his Earldom of March)." A print of the seal, bearing the following legend, may be seen in p. 353, of the work above quoted. "S. Edmundi de Mortuomari c̄oitis Marchie et Ultonie dn̄i Wigmore et Clare."

able retinue, in the year 1424,* and on the nineteenth of January, 1425, he died in the Castle of Trim, in that kingdom:† his body was removed for burial to the Collegiate Church of Stoke Clare,‡ in Suffolk, which had been founded by his ancestors; as he left no children, and as his brother had been previously cut off, his rights and estates descended to the son of his sister Anne, Richard Plantagenet.

* Stow, p. 366. Dugdale says, he was made Lieutenant of Ireland, 1 Hen. VI, but this appointment is not noticed by the historians.

† Dugdale's Baronage, p. 151. Weever (Funeral Monuments, p. 742.) and Baker (Chronicle, p. 195.) fix his death in 1424, and Fuller, by some strange mistake, in 1454. Anne, the Widow of Mortimer, survived him eight years, and married John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon.

‡ Weever as above. In Nasmith's Catalog. MSS. C. C. C. Cantab. p. 110, we find the following titles of deeds of gifts made by Edmund Mortimer to the College of Stoke,

Donatio Edmundi comitis Marchæ facta collegio de Stoke a capitulo ejusdam confirmata 12 Martii 1415.

Donatio Edmundi comitis Marchæ omnium possessionum, quæ olim pertinebant ad prioratum de Stoke, decano et capitulo Collegii de Stoke. 7 Hen. V.

We possess no information sufficient to justify any endeavour to delineate the character of Edmund Mortimer; but from his never having himself attempted, except *possibly* in the revolt of Northumberland, to vindicate his claims by the sword, and from the great lenity which he experienced, both from the fifth and the sixth Henry, we may safely infer, that whatever may have been the other qualities which he possessed, his temper was unambitious, conciliating, and amiable.

FINIS.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

PAGE 38, l. 8, for *preservance* read *observance.*

64, l. 2 from bottom, for *strenously* read *strenuously.*

104, l. 5 from bott. for *Quintillian* read *Quintilian.*

139, l. 4 from bott. insert, after the reference to Heylin,

Bower, resting upon the authority of Anastasius, informs us that the *scull* of St. George was discovered, at Rome, in the eighth century; that it was inclosed in a shrine, on which was a Greek inscription, affording indubitable evidence of the genuiness of the relick; and that it was removed by Zachary, the Roman Pontiff, with all due ceremony, to the Church of St. George ad Velum Aureum. (History of the Popes, vol. III. p. 341).

PAGE 139, l. 3 from bott. for *Archælogia* read *Archæologia.*

155, l. 10 from bott. for *bonos* read *bonas.*

186, l. 2 from bott. for *parochical* read *parochial.*

200. *A line of separation* should have been added at the bottom of this page.

203, insert, after line 13,

The *Galilee*, though not, I believe, the ordinary *Porch*, was occasionally annexed to Saxon Churches; the former was undoubtedly an imitation of the ancient portico; and the latter may probably have been first added for the occasional convenience of those who frequented the *Parvis* (the space between the North and South doors of the Church) which was used, for a considerable time, as a place of instruction, or of meeting, for lawyers; and afterwards, as a school for children: to the former of these

purposes it was applied (as we learn from Fortescue) so late as in the reign of Henry VI.

PAGE 207. Insert, after "p. 129." The letters $\overset{P}{X}$ are found in a sepulchral inscription, at Rome, of the year 474. Fleetwood's Inscript. Antiq. Sylloge, p. 342.

PAGE 238. I have somewhat to regret that the foregoing "Hints" were printed before the publication of the 4th volume of King's Munimenta Antiqua; although indeed that volume is confined to the investigation of our ecclesiastical architecture under the *Saxon and Danish Monarchies*. Several criteria of such architecture are noticed, in this elaborate performance, which appear to have escaped the attention of former Antiquaries; and which *(if admitted to be deduced from buildings of the date ascribed to them by Mr. King)*, will of course enable us to ascertain, with much greater accuracy than hitherto, our genuine structures, or remains, of the Saxon æra. The most remarkable peculiarities, by *some* of which Mr. King supposes the *earliest* period of Saxon architecture to be distinguished, are 1st, A studied diversity of ornament in the capitals of supporting pillars.—2d, A transome stone filling up the semi-circular part of the arch.—3d, The supporting pillars standing somewhat nearer to each other than the whole diameter of the arch.—4th, A loaded variety of ornaments in the moulding of the arch, in very small compartments.—And 5th, In general, a very plain impost moulding on the capitals of the pillars. At a *later* period (from Alfred to 1036), Mr. King conceives, that the Saxon style of building became simpler and bolder than before, though still with much variety in the ornaments; but that in its *last* period (from 1036 to the Conquest) it is difficult to distinguish it from the *earliest architecture of the Normans*.

I would here observe too (in reference to *pages 231 and 237 of my Remarks on the pointed style)*, that Mr. King notices (p. 75) an arch in the ruins of Balbec, and some others in the aqueduct of Justinian, as being *apparently* pointed; and that he

has given engravings (pl. XI.) of some pointed arches (formed by *intersecting* ones) at Pershore, and of other pointed arches at Shoreham (pl. XXXI, XXXVI.) which, he thinks, may *possibly* be of Saxon workmanship. Some intersecting arches at Cleeve, &c. (pl. XXXVII, XL,) are also deemed by him to be *probably* Saxon; a conjecture, in which I am the more disposed to acquiesce, from the appearance of similar arches on the East end of the Church of Tickencote (Lincolnshire), which is generally believed to be a Saxon building. See Carter's Ancient Architecture of England. Part I. p. 22. pl. XXIII.

PAGE 277, l. 7, for *eum* read *cum*.

16, for *cum* read *eum*.

The 1st and 2d volumes of Holinshed, quoted in this work, are of 1577; the references to the 3d volume have generally been made to the Edition of 1586.

APPENDIX.

Note on the Life of Edmond Mortimer.

THE communications of the late Mr. Malone, referred to in Dr. Sayers' Notes, in pages 307 and 316, were conveyed in the two following letters from that gentleman to a friend of Dr. Sayers, who had presented to Mr. Malone a copy of the volume in which the Essay in question was first published. The clear and detailed statements which they contain, combined with the distinguished reputation of the author for diligence and accuracy of research, may perhaps render them not wholly unacceptable to the reader.

(1.)

London, Jan. 26, 1805.

Dear Sir,

I have been much indisposed since I had the honour of seeing you in Queen

Anne-street, as well as for several weeks before, and have been in great pain for some days past, otherwise I should have taken an earlier opportunity to thank you very much for your obliging present of Dr. Sayer's ingenious and instructive little volume. I had not seen any of his pieces before, but as soon as I get a little more abroad than at present, shall certainly look out for them. Some of his Essays, as you observe, are very nearly connected with my own studies, and therefore are particularly interesting to me. Shakspeare was born on St. George's-day: I have therefore, in his Life, taken occasion to connect that extraordinary man, and the patron Saint of England together, in order to do honour to them both. As for *Edmund Mortimer*, he is my old acquaintance, and I have, in respect to him, been a fellow-labourer in the same vineyard with your respectable and learned friend, having collected a good deal of intelligence about him, which appeared in my edition of Shakespeare; but being obtained at different times, it is scattered in different places, viz. in 1 Henry IV. p. 139, 1 Henry VI. p. p. 44, 153, and

my appendix, p. p. 628, 647, in which I corrected an error or two I had fallen into. Like Dr. Sayers, I endeavoured to prove, from various circumstances, that not he, but his Uncle and name-sake was the person, who was taken prisoner by Owen Glendower. A few years after my book was published, my friend, Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, sent me some very curious notices on this subject, which prove incontestably that the fact was as above stated; and it turns out that Hall, the historian, who wrote in the time of Henry the Eighth, and was copied by all the subsequent writers, was the author of the error, for in his translation of the Manifesto set forth by the Percies previously to the battle of Shrewsbury, in 1403, he has this article: "Also we do allege, say, and intend to prove, that where [whereas] *Edmonde Mortimer, Earle of Marche and Ulster,* was taken prisoner by Owen Glendor," &c. but the original words (as the Bishop of Dromore informs me from a MS. in the Museum) are "Item ponimus, dicimus et probare intendimus, quod ubi Edmundus Mortymer *frater* Rogeri Mortymer nuper Comitus Marchiæ et Ult.

fuit captus per Owen Glendor in mortali bello campestri, et in prisonâ et vinculis ferreis adhuc crudeliter tentus,"* &c. All this, and some other circumstances communicated by the Bishop, I have incorporated with what I had before said of Mortimer, (with some slight corrections) so as to make one consistent and more satisfactory note on this subject in my new edition, which, if I live and have health, I hope to put to the press in the course of the present year.† Dr. Sayers, I imagine, will be pleased to see our conjecture thus unquestionably confirmed. In return for the pleasure his volume has afforded me, I take the liberty to point out a few slight errors in the last Essay, in case the book should be again printed.

P. 300, Note.—The Earl of Ulster, to whose daughter Philippa the Duke of Clarence was married, was William *de Burgo* or Burgh. The

* This curious document, which charged Henry with causing the death of King Richard by *starvation*, (not by *assassination*, as has since been popularly believed) has lately been published in the 16th vol. of the Archæologia, and in Mr. Ellis's Edition of Hardyng's Chronicle.

† Mr. Malone did not live to publish this promised Edition.

Spelman MSS. are certainly erroneous in this respect. By the bye, I should be very glad to know what these MSS. in general contain. There has long prevailed a notion that Sir Henry Spelman left behind him some valuable additions to his Glossary.

P. 304, Note.—I have endeavoured to shew, in a dissertation on the three parts of Henry VI. that Shakspeare formed these plays on *older* dramas, two of which yet exist; and if I am right, the author of the old play on which the first part of Henry VI. was formed, and not our great poet, was answerable for this error. Shakspeare took it as he found it.

P. 307, Note on "*Northumberland.*" Elizabeth (whom Shakspeare calls *Kate*) sister of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, was not married to Northumberland, but to his son, Henry Percy, Shakspeare's Hotspur. She was, however, aunt to Edmond Mortimer, (5th Earl) and not sister, as Shakspeare makes her.

P. 310, Note at bottom.* This Sir *John* Mor-

* The References have been altered so as to correspond with the present Edition.

timer has had rather unkind usage, for I endeavoured to shew that he could not be *Uncle* to the 5th and last Earl of March, (the subject of the Essay) imagining he had but one uncle, namely *Edmond,* who was taken prisoner by Glendower; but he certainly was his uncle, the *third* son of Philippa. Dr. Sayers, on the other hand, has displaced him, and substituted for him *Roger,* the younger brother of the fifth Earl. But Roger unquestionably was his younger brother, and was with the Earl in ward to Henry IV. from the time of his father's death till his own, which happened before the death of Henry (1412), and therefore, what *Sir John,* the Uncle, who was executed early in the reign of Henry VI. says (p. 316) that he was "rightful heir to the Crown after the 5th Earl," was perfectly correct; for Roger, the younger brother of that Earl, was *then* dead. In the Notes to Shakspeare to which I have referred (if the book should happen to be at Norwich) your ingenious friend will find many instances besides those which he has mentioned, of the uniform favour shewn to this Nobleman (Edmond the 5th Earl) by Henry the Vth. The

fact is, that after the death of his mother, about the year 1406, the King made him a Ward to the Prince of Wales; and there being but four years difference in their ages, a friendship was thus naturally cemented between them. He was unquestionably constituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, May 9th, 1423, and died of the plague at the Castle of Trim, (which was his mansion-house) I believe in January, 1424-5, at the age of 32 or 33.

I beg that you will believe me,

Dear Sir, &c.

EDMOND MALONE.

To Thomas Amyot, Esq. Norwich.

(2.)

London, Feb. 1, 1805.

DEAR SIR,

I request you will do me the favour to return my best thanks to Dr. Sayers, for his very obliging present of his former publications, and at the same time, to apologize to him for the mistake I committed respecting Sir John Mortimer. My letter, as I fear was too evident

by the many interlineations, was written very hastily, to save day-light. Anne, his niece, was unquestionably the right heir to the Crown, as Dr. Sayers observes. All that Sir John could pretend, was, being the next heir *male*, after the death of his two nephews, Edmond and Roger; a pretension which might have dazzled his partizans, and was the very same set up by the Lancastrians, who preferred the *male* descendant of John of Gaunt, the *fourth* son of Edward III. to Philippa, the daughter of Lionel of Clarence, the *third* son of the same king.

I am somewhat more free from pain than I have been, but cannot hope for complete recovery till the severity of the weather shall relax. With many thanks for your good wishes,

I remain, dear Sir, &c.

EDMOND MALONE.

To Thomas Amyot, Esq. Norwich.

The writer of this note (to whom the preceding letters were addressed) feels gratified by this opportunity of connecting the respected name of Mr. Malone, with that of his highly-valued and deeply-lamented friend, Dr. Sayers. With Mr.

Malone, at a later period, he had the pleasure of frequent intercourse at the table of the late Mr. Windham, and he regretted that Dr. Sayers' disinclination, or rather, inability, to travel, prevented him from having the satisfaction of personally introducing to each other, two persons whose refined taste, scholarlike habits, and polished manners were so truly congenial.

With respect to the question left at issue between Dr. Sayers and Mr. Malone, namely, the relationship in which Sir John Mortimer stood to Edmond, the fifth Earl of March, it is remarkable that no notice whatever is taken of the former personage, in any one of the seven pedigrees of the Mortimer family now existing in the British Museum. That he was the *Uncle*, as Sandford asserted, and as Mr. Malone believed, seems the more probable supposition. Hall indeed (p. 128, edit. 1809) calls him "*Cousin* to the said Earl," and he is so described by Biondi, in his History of the Civil Wars, though in a Genealogical Table in the latter book, he is represented as the Uncle of Edmond. The term *Cousin*, it should be observed, was formerly used in a less

definite sense than it is at present. It might have been meant to designate an Uncle, but could not have described a Brother. The question, though certainly not of much importance, is sufficiently so perhaps to render it desirable that the truth should be ascertained.

T. A.

Downing-street, Westminster,
Nov. 14*th,* 1818.

Notices concerning the Dormitory of the Cathedral-Monastery of Norwich, by F. Sayers, M. D.

Communicated by the Rev. Sam. Henley, A. M. F.A.S. and read before the Society of Antiquaries of London, Nov. 29, 1804.

ABOUT the time in which Bishop Herbert de Losinga founded the Cathedral of Norwich,* he appears to have also begun the construction of a monastery on the south side of that building: this religious house was destined to the reception of Benedictine monks,† who were to be employed in the cathedral service: the work was completed in 1101, in the September of which year the foundation-charter was signed by Herbert, and sixty monks who had been collected together, and who had for some time resided in the

* In 1096, according to Weever, (Funeral Monuments, p. 788), but, according to Stowe, in 1097.

† Speed's Chronicle, p. 1066.

Priory of St. Leonard,* were then removed, and fixed in the new monastery.†

Before this period, the clergy who officiated in the cathedral were secular canons, and Herbert, by thus changing them for monks, which he did by the authority of archbishop Anselm,‡ appears to have given great disgust.

The monks of the cathedral were governed by priors, whom they elected themselves; the first of their priors was Ingulph, a witness to the foundation deed; and the last was William Castleton, who, in 1538, surrendered his monastery to the King. §

The yearly revenue of the cathedral monastery, at the time of its dissolution, is estimated by Speed at £1061 14*s.* 3*d.* ||

* This priory was situated on Mosswold-hill; some remains of its walls are still to be traced; it finally became a cell to the cathedral monastery.—See Tanner's Notit. monast.

† Blomefield's Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 331, &c.

‡ Mon. Ang. Tom. III fo. 7.

§ Blomefield's Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 431, 436.

|| Chronicle, p. 1066.

The building which Herbert had erected certainly underwent some changes previously to the dissolution;* in the latter part of the reign of Henry III. its gates, and several other parts of it, were fired by the citizens of Norwich in a riot; the damage, however, which was thus done to it appears to have been but trifling,† except in its inside, and was soon after repaired by the city, in consequence of an order from Edward I. We have no reason for suspecting that any more material alterations were made in the monastery before it was dissolved.

On the first of April 1538, William Castleton, as has been noticed above, surrendered the cathedral monastery to Henry VIII. and on the second

* Chiefly in some of the windows and doors perhaps, which were very numerous and irregular on the north side of the building.

† The church of the priory, i. e. the cathedral, and the southern upper-close-gate, seem to have suffered most on this occasion; a new gate (still remaining) was erected by the citizens of Norwich, in 1275, on the spot where the old one had stood, and they were farther condemned to repair the priory-church at the expence of 3000 marks. Speed's Chronicle, 625, and Blomefield as above, p. 39, 40, 486, and 526.

of May, of the same year, the King refounded it (with the usual alterations;) appointed Castleton the first dean, and retained twenty-two monks, six of whom were made prebendaries, and the other sixteen vicars-choral; these men assumed the habit of prebendaries, and secular canons, and the remainder of the monks were dismissed.*

About this period, the monastery was completely altered, the greater part of it being converted into dwelling houses for the prebendaries, and other members of the cathedral: in which state it now remains.† Its dormitory, or dortour,‡ is reported to have been used, for many

* The statutes of the cathedral were afterwards revised and renewed by Edward VI. and Elizabeth: they were again altered, in some respects, by James, by Charles I. and by Charles II. Six minor canons, an episteler, a gospeller, and eight lay clerks, were appointed in lieu of the sixteen vicars-choral.

† No portion of the monastery, perhaps, retains externally more of its original form than the house of the organist, and the library room which adjoins to it.

‡ A long building (to the south of the cloisters) in which the monks all slept together, according to the decree of a council held 816, "*nisi in dormitorio cum cæteris, absque causa inevitabili, nemo dormire presumpserit.*

years after this time, as the public eating hall of the inferior members of the cathedral, to whom commons were allowed by the 18th chapter of their constitution.

But a statute having been made, in 5th Charles I. by which it was enacted that this common table should be abolished, and that an annual stipend of 10*l.* should be paid instead of it, to the minor canons, &c. a public eating hall was of course no longer required.

When the dormitory was appropriated to the use above mentioned, little doubt can be entertained of its having been materially altered, especially in the inside; and it appears highly probable, that the two large oblong windows, which greatly defaced the beauty of its front, were inserted into its south side about the same period.

In the year 1744, the building of which I am speaking was converted into a workhouse: at this time it appears to have been completely fitted up anew in its inside, though some of the old materials were probably used for this purpose; in 1796, the poor were removed from it, and it

has since remained uninhabited, and has undergone no change worthy of notice.

In the summer of 1804 it was demolished; the original structure of the inside was, in consequence of the various alterations which had been made in it, by no means to be ascertained with accuracy; the roof, however, remained nearly perfect, and was remarbably beautiful; the pillars of the front arches, which were laid open, were very massy, and ornamented with rich capitals; some of these, together with the inside of the arches above them, were stained with various colours, much of the brilliancy of which still remained; the whole original front of the building was clearly to be traced.

A part of the west end of the building, together with two of its pillars, have been taken into an adjoining house.

Norwich, October 21, 1804.

[The following collection of Reviewals, drawn up by the late Dr. Sayers, contains all those critical articles of which any corrective notices occur among his manuscripts. It is not absolutely complete: in the year 1795, for instance, some account of Dr. Hamilton's *Rules for recovering Persons recently drowned*, was inserted by Dr. Sayers in the xvi. volume of the Monthly Review; but he has expressly directed that neither his Thesis, nor any of his medical writings, should be republished.]

The Doctrine of the Greek Article, applied to the Criticism and the Illustration of the New Testament. By T. F. Middleton, A. M. (now D. D.) 8vo. *Cadell and Davies.* 1808.

THE Greek Article has long been justly deemed the *opprobrium Grammaticorum*. Neither from Apollonius Dyscolus, nor from other ancient philologists, can we collect a full and satisfactory account of it; this deficiency is far from being supplied by modern grammarians; and it cannot but be thought a little extraordinary, that while a Bentley, a Brunck, a Porson, a Her-

mann, &c. should have employed themselves with such persevering toil in disentangling the knots of Grecian Prosody, in—

> ‘ Untwisting all the chains that tie
> The hidden soul of harmony,’

none of these distinguished scholars should have directed his critical sagacity to the investigation of a part of speech, on which the *meaning*, as well as the elegance, of so large a portion of Greek composition must evidently depend. Few, perhaps, were better fitted for this difficult, though useful task, than Dr. Moor of Glasgow; but in the valuable fragment of a Greek Grammar, which the Professor has bequeathed to us, we are sorry to observe, that we discover nothing but the same vague and meagre account of the Article, which is usually inserted into treatises of a similar kind.

The chagrin, which we have frequently experienced on the subject of which we are speaking, has, however, at length been dissipated by the work before us; and although we may be disposed to disagree with the learned and acute author of it in some points of inferior importance,

yet we hesitate not to assert that it is a production of distinguished merit, and that it affords to us a most valuable, effectual, and novel aid in the just interpretation of Greek writers, both sacred and profane.

Dr. Middleton's work is divided into two parts. The *first* contains his Doctrine of the Greek Article —The *second,* an application of that doctrine to the elucidation, or correction, of a variety of passages in the New Testament; this part assumes the form of a perpetual commentary.

The second chapter of the first part opens with the following definition of the Greek Article.

'The Greek prepositive article is the pronoun relative ὁ, so employed that its relation is supposed to be more or less obscure; which relation, therefore, is explained in some adjunct annexed to the article, by the participle of existence expressed or understood. Hence the article may be considered as the *subject,* and its adjunct as the *predicate* of a proposition, differing from ordinary propositions only as *assumption* differs from *assertion:* for this is the only difference between the verb and the participle, between εστιν and ων. The adjunct annexed to the article will hereafter be called its predicate.'

This definition, as Dr. M. readily admits, requires a dilated vindication. In support of the *first* clause of it he has recourse to the composi-

tions of Homer. He begins by detecting, what we have long been disposed to condemn, the error of those who maintain that the *ordinary* use of the Greek article is not to be traced in the productions of that writer: he then continues (p. 12),

'It is obvious that in such phrases as ὁ γαρ ηλθε, ὁ δ'ηιε, την μεν εγω, &c. A. 183. ὁ and την must be considered as pronouns. The pronominal nature of ὁ is, therefore, in *some* instances established beyond contradiction; and we have only to ascertain, whether this pronominal nature be ever lost. Thus we read, Iliad I. 341.

ὁστις αγαθος και εχεφρων
THN αυτῳ φιλεει και κηδεται, ὡς και εγω THN
Εν θυμῳ φιλεον: where the latter την is a *pronoun* relating to Briseis, and the former, if we attend to the common distinction, is no other than the article to γυναικα understood: but is not the one as much the representative of γυναικα, as the other is of Briseis? Here indeed γυναικα is so evidently implied, that no obscurity arises from its omission. But suppose the case otherwise, and that, though the context should afford a tolerable clue to the sense, some little obscurity were still to remain. For instance, if A. 33. we had read ὡς φατ'· ὁ δ' εδδεισεν, the sense could hardly have been mistaken, but yet would not have been absolutely certain; ὁ ΓΕΡΩΝ makes every thing clear; for though, independently of the context, ὁ might refer to any male already mentioned, yet ὁ γερων must refer to the only old man hitherto spoken of: but does ὁ on this account lose its nature? In the former in-

stance it is admitted on all hands to be strictly a pronoun : and how does the addition of γερων, v. 33, or γεραιος, v. 35, destroy its essence? As well might we say that the *ille* of the Latins ceases to be a pronoun as often as it is associated with a substantive, adjective, or participle, with all of which it is so frequently found. But there are instances by which it may be clearly proved that Homer himself entertained no idea of the difference between the pronoun and the article, for that it was an even chance, supposing a difference, which of the two he used : which could not consistently happen were the difference essential. Thus in narrating the conflict between Hector and Patrocles, Π. 793, he says,

ΤΟΥ δ' απο μεν κρατος ΚΥΝΕΗΝ βαλε Φοιβος Απολλων,
'Η δε κυλινδομενη καναχην εχε ποσσιν ὑφ' ἱππων.

Supposing the sentence to conclude thus, which unquestionably it might do, 'H would, according to the vulgar distinction, be a *pronoun* referring to κυνεην, exactly as τε refers to Patroclus : but so it happens, that the writer has added in the next verse Αυλωπις τρυφαλεια. The common doctrine will teach us that this makes a prodigious difference, and though we had determined, as the writer also, to regard 'H as a pronoun, it is at once degraded on the appearance of τρυφαλεια, and sinks into a mere *article*, and yet the only alteration which takes place is, that instead of relating to κυνεην, as was supposed, it is made to relate to the synonymous word τρυφαλεια. It is plain, therefore, in this example, that the difference between the article and pronoun is not *essential*, but *accidental*, and consequently, when we are speaking of the *nature* of the article, that there is no difference at all.'

By these, and by similar convincing arguments,

has Dr. M. established the first clause of his definition, a clause which we find to be farther corroborated by the authority of the Stoics.

In Section II. (p. 20), the author proceeds to the elucidation of the next clause of his definition, (the nature of the *relation* of the article to its predicate) by attempting to shew, that it includes, in all cases, what he has chosen to denominate (from a word used by Apollonius) an *anticipative reference*: to this expression we certainly feel some objection, both from its not being altogether perspicuous, and from its tending rather to obstruct than to promote our conception of the transition of the pronoun relative into the definite article. We admit that Dr. M. has proved, in this part of his work, that the relation of the article to its predicate 'is more or less obscure,' and we should therefore have been entirely satisfied with a mere simple summary to this effect—that while the pronoun relative is so *obviously* connected with its antecedent as to render a repetition of it entirely unnecessary, the article is, *for the most part,* so *obscurely* connected with *its* antecedent, (or that to which it refers) as abso-

lutely to require its repetition. We have, perhaps, qualified this statement (by the insertion of 'for the most part') in a manner to which Dr. M. might not be immediately disposed to assent, as he attributes an *obscure anticipative reference* to the article in all cases whatsoever. We must therefore explain ourselves more fully. The degree of obscurity, then, in the reference of the article to what we must be allowed to call 'its antecedent,' appears to us to vary considerably. In such phrases as—

Λαμβανει την αρχην, την εμην.
Αθροιζει τα πλασματα, τα λελειμμενα.

the second article, which immediately follows the noun, is so evidently connected with it, that the repetition of the noun itself is no more needed, than if the article were actually a pronoun relative, no more than if the phrases were turned in this manner,

Λαμβανει την αρχην, 'HN παλιν ετυγχανον εχων.
Αθροιζει τα πλασματα, 'A λελοιπαμεν.

Now, again, in the following passage (from Xenophon)—

'Οσα μεν δη εν τη αναβασει εγενετο μεχρι της μαχης· και ὁσα μετα την μαχην εν ταις σπονδαις, ἁς βασιλευς κ. τ. λ. (Anab. Δ.)

it is plain that, although *all* the words to which the article is prefixed had been more or less recently mentioned, yet still the relation of the article to them respectively was so obscure, or uncertain, as to enforce their repetition; while, on the other hand, the connection of the pronoun relative with its antecedent was (as usual) of such easy and certain detection, as to preclude the least necessity of repeating σπονδας after 'ας.

A third class of phrases may farther be adduced, in which the reference of the article to its antecedent is involved in *still greater obscurity* than in the last. Such phrases would fall under the division of 'hypothetic reference,' afterwards noticed by Dr. M. and they are of a kind in which *no* previous mention has been made of the antecedent of the article, nor in which it can possibly be supposed to be at all prominent in the mind of the reader. As an instance we give the following:

Ὁ ακρατης επιθυμων μεν πραττει, προαιρεμενος δε ου· Ὁ εγκρατης δ' αναπαλιν προαιρεμενος μεν, επιθυμων δ' ου. (Aristot.)

now in this, and in similar phrases, (as we have just been observing) the article can absolutely refer to nothing in the mind of the reader; yet it

undoubtedly has its reference, and that can only be an antecedent in the mind of the writer. As a slight illustration of this use of the article, we may notice a mode of description, frequently to be met with in our books of heraldry, which runs thus, "He beareth azure, &c. &c.——by the name of A." in which form, we need hardly remark, that although the person designed by the pronoun '*he*' remains unknown to the reader, till the name of such person is announced, yet that it was present to the mind of the writer, from the very beginning of his description.

In something of a similar manner also we might explain the *ellipsis* which occasionally occurs after the article, as in the phrases, εν τω νυν, εν τοις Κιρκης, &c.—unless indeed the reference in such phrases may be deemed (from the frequent use of them) much more obvious to the reader than in the former case.

Such, then, are the different degrees of obscurity which seem to us to take place in the connection of the article with its antecedent, and to none of them does the term 'anticipative reference' appear to be very advantageously, and

much less necessarily applied. It may indeed be truly urged that in most of the phrases which we have noticed, an anticipation of some subsequent word or other must arise in our mind after the article is pronounced; and if this be the *whole* force of the expression which Dr. M. has adopted, it is hardly an object with us to contend against it longer.

It is proper to remark here that our author observes, (p. 31) that when we speak of the refeference of the *article itself,* we must not confound it with the reference of the article and its predicate *conjointly;* and possibly, in some of the foregoing strictures, he may deem us guilty of this confusion. We conceive, however, that the reference which we have been ascribing to the *article per se,* is perfectly consonant to the doctrine (so skilfully established by Dr. M. himself) of the identity of that part of speech with the pronoun relative ὁ, and that we may possibly have thrown a gleam of light at least upon the conversion of the latter into the former.

In Sections III. and IV. Dr. M. continues his elucidation of the nature of the relation which

the article bears to its predicate. In these sections we can discover nothing of weight against the opinion which we have just been defending.

Section V. contains a vindication of the third, or final clause of the author's definition; on this point he observes:

'If indeed it be admitted on the proofs already given, that the article is no other than a pronoun, the subintellection of the participle becomes a necessary consequence; for else between the pronoun and its predicate there will be no more connection than if they occurred in different propositions. Ὁ ανηρ must signify *he*, or the male, *being*, or *assumed to be*, a man. The conclusion will be the same, though the reasoning will be somewhat different, if we suppose the predicate of the article to be an adjective. Thus in the proposition ὁ αγαθος Σωκρατης φιλοσοφει, ὁ αγαθος is equivalent to ὁ ων αγαθος, as Gaza indeed admits—the same is evident of ηραθ' ὁ γεραιος in Homer, and of all similar instances. Frequently indeed we find the participle of existence *expressed:* thus Aristotle (de Mor.) οἱ μαλιστα αξιοι ΟΝΤΕΣ ἥκιστα πλουτουσι, where the author's meaning would have been equally certain had the participle been omitted. In order to perceive that the conclusion will not be different when the predicate of the article is a *participle*, it is necessary to attend a little to the nature of propositions, and to the distinction between the participle and the verb. Logicians teach us that every proposition contains a *subject* and a *predicate* connected by a *copula*, and that where this copula is not marked by a distinct word, it is implied in the verb. Thus in *homo EST animal*

the copula is manifestly *est*. In *homo ambulat*, we find it not, indeed, distinctly expressed, but we are sure that it exists in *ambulat*, for ambulat is equivalent to *EST ambulans*, *ambulabit* to *ERIT* ambulans, &c. Now if this happens invariably in the verb, what will take place in the participle? This differs from the verb, says Harris, in losing the *assertion*: I think he would have done still better in adding "in place of which it takes an *assumption*," for if in Σωκρατης γραφει there be an *assertion* that Socrates writeth, in Σωκρατης γραφων there is an *assumption* of the same truth. It is plain then that the participle differs from the verb in being connected with its subject by ων instead of εστι in the present tense, and by the corresponding participle of existence in others; and this will hold equally whether that subject be a noun or pronoun, which latter the article has been shewn to be. We are therefore authorised to conclude that the participle of existence is virtually employed as an *assumptive copula* between the article and its predicate, even when that predicate is a participle.'

Having thus completed the vindication of his definition, the author proceeds to apply it to the solution of phenomena.

These he arranges under the following divisions:—Insertions of the Article in Reference—Insertions in Hypothesis—Omissions—Insertions and Omissions combined—Proper Names—Abstract Nouns—Anomalies—Usage with certain words—Position in concord.

These heads are subdivided into the following following sections :—

Insertions in Reference.

1. Renewed mention—besides the insertion of the article on repeating the name of a person or thing which had recently been mentioned, (a rule which is generally known) Dr. M. observes that the same circumstance takes place on the repetition of a noun *synonymous* with that which had previously occurred.

2. Κατ' εξοχην—In establishing this use of the article (which has also been frequently noticed) Dr. M. has shewn that it does not necessarily indicate *pre-eminent worth*, but that, in many cases, it only refers to something which, from some cause or other, is *well known*.

3. Monadic Nouns—this use of the article is nearly allied to the former.

4. The use of the article in the sense of the pronoun possessive—its force in this respect is also familiar to us.

6 The article prefixed to adjectives of the neuter gender, indicating some quality or attribute in its general or abstract idea.

7. Correlatives—under this head the author shews that words in regimine either *both* take or *both* reject the article, as λεοντος σκυμνιον, or το τȣ λεοντος σκυμνιον.—A similar rule is also applicable to—

8. Partitives, between which and their respective wholes the like mutual relation subsists.—And on the same principle the author explains—

9. The use of the article before μεν and δε.

Hypothetic use of the Article.

With respect to which Dr. M. observes:

'The following use of the article differs from the preceding ones, in which the article and predicate together recall some familiar idea, being here subservient to the purpose of *hypothesis*. In both cases the predicate explains the obscure relation of the article, but in the latter the article, even with the aid of its predicate, does not carry back the mind to any object with which it has been recently, or is frequently conversant. It is merely the representative of something, of which, whether known or unknown, an assumption is to be made, as—

Ὁ σπουδαιος γαρ ἑκαστα κρινει ορθως. Aristot.

We may here be permitted to refer our readers to what we have before advanced respecting the nature of the relation of the article, and of its hypothetic uses.

Omissions.

1. Propositions of existence—εσται μεν ειρηνη.

2. Nouns preceded by verbs, or participles, substantive or nuncupative. In the proofs adduced on this point, we observe a trifling oversight of the author, which we merely notice with a view to its correction in a future edition. The words, which he has attributed to the Prophets of Baal, were spoken by the people of Israel (LXX. βασιλ. Γ. xviii. 39.) This oversight, however, in no respect affects the reasoning of Dr. M.

3. Verbs of appointing, choosing, creating.

4. Nouns in apposition, in certain cases.

6. Correlatives, or nouns in regimine, of which the former is indefinite, as λογε τινος Αρχην λεγεις. Of this practice Dr. M. expresses an approbation, in which we cannot entirely sympathize. If the Greeks could only say, for instance, "*the* priest of *the* temple" (ὁ τε ναε ἱερευς) or "*a* priest of *a* temple" (ναε ἱερευς) we have clearly the advantage of them; for besides being able to use the same turns of phrase, we can also convey ideas by no means *precisely* similar to the above, by the expressions '*the* priest of *a* temple,' and '*a* priest of *the* temple.'

Insertions and Omissions combined.

1. Subject and predicate—the subject is generally found *with* the article, and the predicate *without* it, as

ϐ γαρ εστι ΤΟ επιπεδον σχημα, ϐδε ΤΟ σχημα επιπεδον. Aristot.

και Θεος ην Ὁ λογος. Joann. i. 1.

We adduce this instance because we have seen the rendering of 'and God was the word' proposed as an *emendation* of our common version.

2. When two or more attributives joined by a *copulative* or *copulatives*, are assumed of the *same* person or thing, before the *first* attributive the article is *inserted*, before the remaining ones it is *omitted*, as

Ρωσκιος Ὁ υιος ΚΑΙ κληρονομος τϐ τεθνηκοτος. Plut.

To this rule the attention of the learned has lately been attracted by Mr. Granville Sharp, and by Mr Wordsworth: it appears, however, that it is not without the *exceptions*, 1st. of names of substances, considered as substances; 2d. of proper names; 3d. of abstract ideas, as—

Ὁ λιθος και χρυσος.

ΤΟΝ Αλεξανδρον και Φιλιππον. Æschin.

ΤΗΝ απειριαν και απαιδευσιαν. Plat.

The use of the Article before Proper Names.

The result of a very full and accurate investigation of this subject is, that the article is frequently placed before proper names of *celebrity,* before those which have been *previously* mentioned, and before those which are *familiar* to the hearer—before the names of deities also and of places.

The Article before abstract Nouns.

In his discussion of this subject the author professes to have found peculiar difficulty, and indeed there appears to be more refinement and perplexity in it than in any other part of his work. He however establishes, with some licence, that the article is usually prefixed to abstract nouns—

When they are used in their *most abstract sense,*

When they are *personified,*

When the article is employed with them in the sense of a *possessive* pronoun, and

When there is *reference,* either retrospective or anticipative.

And, lastly, the author closes his enquiry with an examination of some *anomalies,* (of which the *most* remarkable is the occasional insertion or re-

jection of the article after *prepositions*) with an investigation of the use of the article with respect to the words πας, ὁλος, ἑτος, ὁδε, εκεινος, and with remarks on the position of it in *concord*.

The numerous canons and discoveries which Dr. M. has announced to us are very powerfully maintained throughout by abundant quotations from the Greek classics, and by a most successful application of eminent critical acumen; and we trust that the analysis which we have now given of his very valuable treatise, will excite an inclination in our readers to study the work itself with all the care which it obviously requires, and which it will amply repay.

We shall now proceed to an examination of the *second part* of the work before us—but in doing this we must content ourselves with bringing forward to notice a few only of those portions of it which appear to us most worthy of attention, and with observing, upon the whole, that the great impartiality with which the commentary is usually executed, the depth of theological learning which is displayed in it, and its accurate interpretation, or correction, of a variety of pas-

sages of Scripture, upon principles in a great degree novel as well as just, must infallibly render it a most secure and acceptable guide to future editors or translators of the New Testament.

Before we select, however, any of the interpretations of Dr. M. it may not be improper to remove from the mind of our readers any prejudices which they may entertain against the application of classical canons to the writings of the Evangelists; this we cannot better effect than by the reasoning of our author:

'It may be asked, (p. 152), is it likely that writers who were confessedly untaught, and whose Greek style is far removed from classical purity, should pay regard to circumstances so minute as are the usages of the Greek article? In the recent controversy the negative of this question has been assumed, I will venture to affirm, without any right founded on fair reasoning, or on the nature of the case. It will not indeed be immediately conceded that *all* the writers of the N. T. were illiterate persons. To St. Paul some have ascribed a considerable degree of learning, much more, probably, than he really possessed; and if the acquirements of St. Luke were not pre-eminent, his style gives us no reason to believe that his education, any more than his condition in life, was mean. If therefore, we recollect how large a portion of the sacred volume was written by these two, and that St. Paul is the writer from whom, principally, the controverted texts are drawn, it may well be doubted whether the known simplicity of

some of the Apostles could afford any argument to Mr. Sharp's antagonists. My own concern, however, is with the new Testament in general. The objectors argue as if they imagined that the sacred writers encountered the same difficulties in acquiring Greek, which our peasants and mechanics would meet with in their attempt to learn French or Italian: but the cases are plainly dissimilar. The greater part of Englishmen pass through life without having ever heard a conversation in any language but their own: but this is not applicable to the writers of the New Testament, neither were they natives of a country where Greek was rarely spoken. The victories of Alexander and the consequent establishment of the Seleucidæ, produced a revolution in the language of Syria and Palestine. The Aramæan dialects still, indeed, continued to be in use, but the language of literature and of commerce, and in a great degree of the ordinary intercourse of life, was the Greek. In this state of things then what were we to expect *à priori* from the writers of the new Testament? I speak not of St. Luke and St. Paul, of whom Greek was the *native language*, but of the other Evangelists and Apostles. It was not, indeed, to be expected, if we reflect on their circumstances and habits of life, and on the remoteness of Palestine, that they should write with the elegance of learned Athenians; but I know not of any reasonable presumption against their writing with perspicuity and with grammatical correctness, and it is against these, and not against elegance, that the improper use of the article would offend. It is not true, therefore, however prevalent may be the opinion, that the uses of the Greek Article do, for the most part, deserve to be considered as *minutiæ*; unless it be deemed minute in writing

to adhere to the ordinary construction of the language, and to employ, in nouns the case, and in verbs the mood and tense, which the writer's meaning may require.'

These remarks, we conceive, may be sufficient to procure a ready attention to Dr. Middleton's Commentary.

Matthew, c. i, 18, εκ τϖ πνευματος ἁγιϖ.—In investigating this text, Dr. M. takes an opportunity of discriminating, with great acuteness, six meanings of the word πνευμα.—1st. That of *breath* or *wind;* 2d. The *intellectual* part of man as opposed to his carnal part, or σαρξ; 3d. *Spirit,* as abstracted from body or matter (as πνευμα σαρκα και οστεα ουκ εχει, Luke xxiv. 39—πνευμα ὁ Θεος, John iv. 24.); 4th. Κατ' εξοχην, the *Great and pre-eminent Spirit,* the Third person of the Trinity; and in this acceptation our author shews that πνευμα or πνευμα ἁγιον is *never used without the article;* 5th. The *influence* or *operation* (not the Person) of the Holy Spirit, as in the expression 'being filled with the Holy Ghost;' in this sense πνευμα and πνευμα ἁγιον are always *without the article* (except, of course, in the case of renewed mention or reference); and 6th. The *effects* of the infusion of the Holy Spirit.

'Now,' says Dr. M. 'if we put together the consequences of what has been shewn under the *fourth* and *fifth* heads, we shall perceive the futility of pretending that the Holy Spirit is, as some aver, merely an influence: the sacred writers have clearly, and in strict conformity with the analogy of language, distinguished the *influence* from the *Person* of the Spirit. In like manner the Personality of the Holy Spirit is deducible by comparing the *third* and *fourth* heads; for if πνευμα in the passages adduced under the *third*, mean a spiritual agent, το πνευμα, where there is no *renewed mention*, nor any other possible interpretation of the article but the use of it κατ' εξοχην, can mean only the one Spiritual Agent of acknowledged and pre-eminent dignity. But the personality of πνευμα under the *third* cannot be disputed unless by those who would controvert the personality of ὁ Θεος: the personality therefore of το πνευμα used κατ' εξοχην must be conceded.

We deem this reasoning to be equally new and convincing.

Matth. iv. 3, ει υιος ει τϑ Θεϑ—in the discussion of these words Dr. M. observes:

'It is evident that there can be only four combinations arising from the insertion or omission of the article before υιος and Θεϑ. Ὁ υιος Θεϑ is never found, and it would scarcely have been Greek: ὁ υιος τϑ Θεϑ is common, but is allowed to be meant in the highest acceptation: we need therefore consider only υιος τϑ Θεϑ and υιος Θεϑ. Now there are instances (besides that which has given birth to this discussion) which prove incontestably that υιος τϑ Θεϑ was never meant to be taken in an inferior sense, i.e. on the supposition that Christ was ever declared to be the Son of God in the

usual acceptation. Thus Mark i. 1, υἱος τȣ Θεȣ is spoken by the Evangelist himself of Jesus. John x. 36, this same phrase is employed by Christ himself of himself, and Matth. xxvi. 40, it is used by those who well knew Christ's pretensions. Stronger proofs derived from circumstances cannot be expected; for if Christ be admitted ever to be called the Son of God, we cannot believe that less would be affirmed of him in any of these examples. Neither is υἱος Θεȣ without either of the articles to be taken in an inferior sense: for not to examine all the places in which it occurs, we have Matth. xxvii. 43, the crime laid to Christ that he said "I am the son of God" which the high priests would hardly palliate. In Luke i. 35, the same phrase is affirmed of Christ by an angel: and Rom. 1. 4, of Christ by the Apostle Paul. It is plain from these proofs that the presence or the absence of the article does not determine the phrase to be used in a higher or lower sense. Is it then to be concluded that the article may generally be used at pleasure? This is the very hypothesis that I would combat: but in this particular phrase there is a licence arising out of the nature of the word Θεος, (see on Luke i. 15) and hence it will be allowable (see Part I. p. 53) to write either ὁ υιος τȣ Θεȣ or υἱος Θεȣ indifferently: the former however is the more common. The reason why we meet with both συ ει Ὁ υἱος τȣ Θεȣ and συ ει υἱος τȣ Θεȣ is, that here two principles interfere. After verbs substantive the first article should be omitted: yet where συ precedes, it is not unfrequently inserted. (See Part I. p. 44.)'

These observations (as well indeed as the foregoing ones) may serve to shew the great impor-

tance of Dr. M.'s theory of the article in the interpretation of passages in Scripture hitherto deemed of dubious meaning. Matth. xxvi. 26, τον αρτον—We refer to the Comment on these words merely for the sake of observing that Epiphanius (who flourished about the year 350) gives a testimony somewhat contradictory to the assertion made by Dr. M. in speaking accidentally of the ancient form of the sacramental bread. 'The round loaf,' says Dr. M. 'which appears in paintings of the Consecration of the Elements, is like many other things of the same sort, a violation of historical truth.' Now this loaf is called by Epiphanius (Anchoret. 57) αρτος στρογγυλοειδης και αναισθητος.

Luke i. 32, υιος υψιστε.—'Here,' says Dr. M. 'Mr. Wakefield translates '*a* son of the most High God:' why he did not from regard to consistency write also '*a* most High God,' I do not pretend to know; yet assuredly that rendering would have been equally defensible. If the phrase be not here meant in a pre-eminent sense, the declaration of the angel amounts to very little, at the same time that it ill accords with what immediately follows: the prophecy must either be that Christ should be called the son of God in the sense in which he afterwards so styled himself, or else that he should be merely one of the υιοι Θεε, of which number is every righteous person in every

age, see Rom. viii. 14. Υιος, it is true, wants the article in the original, and so it must have done allowing the sense to be the most definite: Ὁ υἱος after κληθησεται would not be Greek.'

John i. 1, Θεος ην ὁ λογος—For entire satisfaction with respect to this much disputed text, we must refer our readers to the work itself which we are reviewing, and shall only observe here, that it is decisively proved by a canon (already established in Part I.) that no stress can be laid upon the absence of the article before θεος, as it must necessarily reject the article from being the *predicate* of a proposition.

John iii. 10, Απεκριθη Ιησους, και ειπεν αυτῳ συ ει ὁ διδασκαλος τε Ισραηλ, και ταυτα ου γινωσκεις—We notice these words in order to observe that we cannot acquiesce in Dr. M.'s conjecture respecting them; ὁ διδασκαλος is undoubtedly to be rendered '*the* Teacher,' but we are far from being satisfied that any such *Rabbinical title* was ever conferred; besides our author has himself observed on the very same words (Luke xxii. 11.) the disciples of *any* particular teacher could not well have spoken of their master in another manner; this seems to render the supposition of its being a title still

more improbable. We should rather be inclined to think, from the very high consideration in which Nicodemus is acknowledged to have been held, that the article might on this occasion have been merely used κατ' εξοχην. Can any light be reflected on this passage from the words אתה הוא חכם של ישראל (art thou a [or *the?*] wise man of Israel?) which appears to have been proverbially used by the Jews in reproaching a Rabbi with ignorance or error; as was the case in our Saviour's address to Nicodemus above quoted?

John viii. 44.—Υμεις εκ τϐ πατρος κ. τ. λ.—The Commentary here is too long to be inserted, but as it affords a completely satisfactory explanation of a text hitherto uniformly misinterpreted, we have thought proper to give the result. The difficulty (as is well known) lies in the words ὁταν λαλῃ το ψευδος, εκ των ιδιων λαλει· ὁτι ψευστης εστι, και ὁ πατηρ αυτϐ, now Dr. M. has proved, by the most indubitable classical authority, that the indefinite pronoun τις should be understood before λαλῃ, which being admitted, the rendering will become abundantly easy and perfectly suitable to the context, 'It had been said, 'ye are of your father the Devil,' it is

here added, 'When *(any of you)* speaks that which is false, he speaks after the manner of his kindred; for he is a liar, and so also is his father.'' (ὁ πατηρ αυτȣ). On turning to this text in the late *(soi-disant)* Improved Version of the N. T. we could not but regret that the Editors of it had either no opportunity, or no inclination, to consult the work before us, as it would have spared them the notable rendering of ὁ πατηρ αυτȣ 'the father of *liars*.' By attending also to other remarks of Dr. M. on passages of higher importance, the Editors of the Improved Version might certainly have much increased the value, however they might have deformed the consistency of their Socinian anthology.

1 Corinth. xv. 8.—ὡσπερει τῳ εκτρωματι, ωφθε κ'ἀμοι. Dr. M. very forcibly contends that the meaning of the word εκτρωμα, in this text, has been much mistaken; and that it signifies, not *fœtus immaturus, avortement,* 'one born out of due time,' as our common version has it), but the youngest of a brood, or, to use his own words, 'the last-born offspring of multiparous animals at a given birth.' May it not be also understood to mean

the youngest of a family? Quemadmodum enim Benjamin *abortivus,* matre moriente, minimus, atque inter duodecim Jacob filios postremus natus est; ita and hic Benjamides, moriente Synagoga. *Crit. Sac. Zeger. in loco.*

Colos. ii. 14.—το χειρογραφον τοις δογμασι. The translations of this text are, we think, justly deemed by our Author to have been uniformly erroneous. He has shewn that there is an ellipsis (by no means an unusual one indeed) of συν before τοις δογμασι, and he is inclined to render το χειρογραφον (συν) τοις δογμασι 'the bond, together with all its covenants' meaning by the 'covenants' the expiations, &c. prescribed by the Levitical law, and by 'the bond' the Law itself. But as the covenants are certainly a material *part* of the bond, and as the term χειρογραφον cannot but be *equally* applicable both to the bond and to the *conditions inserted into it,* we would propose a variation from Dr. M.'s interpretation, by rendering το χειρογραφον (as he does) the *Written Law,* and τα δογματα the *Traditions* or *Oral* Law (the παραδοσις, as it is usually called by the writers in the N T.)—τα δογματα is used in a very similar sense in Act. Apost. xvi. 14, φυλασσειν

τα δογματα (præcepta) τα κεκριμενα ὑπο των Αποστολων.— The interpretation, which we propose, accords entirely with the context; for as the Jews valued their Traditions (as Lightfoot expresses it, Heb. and Talmud Exer.) "above the word of God," it was natural enough in St. Paul to point out to his gentile converts the full weight of that yoke from which the worshippers of the One True God were relieved by Christ. Titus ii. v. 13, τȣ μεγαλȣ Θεȣ και Σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος.—We are perfectly willing to admit the translation of these words which Dr. M. has defended ('of our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ'), and to accept his opinion that Θεȣ and σωτηρος are spoken of the *same* person. We do not, however, think that this interpretation is *solely* to be rested on the application of Mr. Sharp's rule. If there be other passages in the N. T. to establish the Divinity of Christ (and such we conceive there are) Mr. Sharp's rule may be safely applied (in the case before us) as a farther corroboration of that doctrine; but on those who are not previously convinced of the unity of the Father and the Son, that rule, we apprehend, will hardly produce (on

the present occasion) the effect which Dr. M. attributes to it; for might it not be urged by the persons of whom we have now been speaking, that the text before us would fall under that *exception* to Mr. Sharp's rule (stated by Dr. M. himself) by which it is admitted that a conjunction of *proper* names by the copulative does not imply their application to one and the same individual, as τον Φιλιππον και Αλεξανδρον? Now Θεος, it will readily be recollected, is allowed to partake of the nature of a proper name, and some authority appears (though by no means equally decisive) for attributing the like quality to the word σωτηρ.

Hebrews ix. 1.—το ἁγιον κοσμικον. This is another passage which has been greatly misunderstood; our common translation has 'a worldly sanctuary,' and we observe that it agrees with the Vulgate, an older Italic, and the version of Beza: but Dr. M. has abundantly satisfied us by the application of his doctrine of the article, that such rendering is erroneous, and that κοσμικον, not ἁγιον (as is usually supposed) is here to be taken as a *substantive*. With this opinion the Coptic coincides, which interprets the text in question by words

equivalent (according to Wilkins) to 'sanctum splendorem,' or (according to La Crose) to 'sanctum ornamentum.' Dr. M. is inclined to think that κοσμικον includes in its meaning 'vasa sancta, totumque apparatum Leviticum'; but we are rather disposed to adopt a conjecture, which he has noticed with some approbation, that το ἁγιον κοσμικον should be rendered the 'Holy Beauty,' or (as as it is expressed in the oriental idiom ('הדרת קדש' 1 Chronic. xvi. 29, and Psalm xxix. 2) 'the Beauty of Holiness,' i. e. the Temple. To this interpretation the context appears to us to be peculiarly favourable, for in the verses which immediately follow (2 and 3), St. Paul actually describes the divisions of the Temple and the sacred utensils, &c. which were contained in them.—These verses are immediately connected with the preceding one by γαρ, and as the word σκηνη is omitted in verse 1 by a great majority of MSS. and authorities, and διαθηκη is understood (as by our Translators) in its place, every difficulty appears to be removed.

1 John v. 7. Τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες εν τῳ ουρανῳ, ὁ πατηρ, ὁ λογος, και το ἁγιον πνευμα, και ουτοι οἱ τρεις ἑν εισι.

8. Και τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες εν τῃ γῃ, το πνευμα, και το ὑδωρ, και το ἁιμα· και οἱ τρεις εις ΤΟ ἑν εισιν.——

Dr. M. has once more attracted attention to these celebrated verses by a very long, learned, and unassuming dissertation, the great object of which is to shew that the article TO before ἐν εισιν (in the 8th verse) *must necessarily refer to* the EN in the preceding verse, and that consequently *both* verses must be retained or *both* rejected.—After the very full discussion of the authenticity of the passage in question, by some of our first theologians and scholars, we shall content ourselves with observing that we deem Dr. M.'s philological argument to be highly worthy of attention, and that we have often thought there was some weight also in the following remark of Dr. Hey (in his dissertation on the disputed clause) that if *(as he decidedly proves)* it might be more easily *expunged* unfairly than *admitted* unfairly, it is more easy to conceive it genuine than spurious.

Revelat. x. 7.—και ετελησθη το μυστηριον. The readers of these words would undoubtedly expect a future tense instead of the aorist, and in Beza's Ed. τελεσθησεται is accordingly inserted; this is approved by Archbishop Newcome, but Dr. M. has very clearly shewn that the phrase, as it now stands, is a *Hebraism,* and that it is similar to

Judges iv. 18, 'If thou wilt go with me, *I will go*' (והלכתי) literally "*and I went,*" or, '*I also am gone.*' Dr. M. seems not averse to the opinion of those who ascribe a Hebrew original to the Apocalypse.

The *Appendix* to the work before us consists of a laboured and masterly Critique on the *Codex Cantab.* or *Codex Bezæ*—the result of it we shall express in the author's own words:

'I conclude with subscribing to the opinion of Matthäi somewhat modified. I believe that no fraud was intended; but only that the critical possessor of the basis filled its margin with glosses and readings chiefly from the Latin, being a Christian of the Western Church; and that the whole collection of Latin passages was translated into Greek and substituted in the text by some one, who had a high opinion of their value, and who was, as Wetstein describes him '*καλλιγραφιας* quam vel Græcæ vel Latinæ linguæ peritior.'

In now taking leave of Dr. Middleton, we have merely to repeat the high approbation, which we have already strongly expressed, of his very elaborate production, and also to signify our hope that we have decisively shewn in the course of the preceding pages, that the application of his Doctrine of the Article to the illustration of the

New Testament, is far from being confined to minutiæ of inferior importance, but that, on the contrary, it serves strongly to confirm the truth of a remark of Lord Bacon, who, in speaking of the Holy Scriptures, affirms "complecti eas non solum totaliter aut collective, sed distributive etiam in clausulis et *vocabulis singulis*, innumeros doctrinæ rivulos et venas, ad Ecclesiæ singulas partes, et animas fidelium irrigandas."

Fables and Satires, with a Preface on the Æsopian Fable. By Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart. 2 vol. post 8vo. Constable and Co. Edinburgh. 1809.

ALTHOUGH the well-known division of authors into writers for fame—writers for bread—and writers for both—is tolerably comprehensive on the whole; yet the classification, we conceive, may be very conveniently extended, by adding to it the farther division, of writers from *ennui*.

It was a saying (we believe) of Sir Walter Raleigh, that he pitied an illiterate gentleman on a rainy day: but as a dull production in the hand, and a blazing fire at the feet, are extremely apt to aggravate, instead of assuaging, the languor and drowsiness of a lonely winter-evening, we cannot but highly applaud the substitution of composing for reading; as whatever may be the ultimate effect which is thus induced upon others,

it is a plan which must infallibly answer the immediate and happy purpose of awakening the dormant energies of the writer himself.

The pupil of the School of Ennui is usually guiltless, in his outset, of any designs upon the attention of the public: but his little performances accumulate by degrees; he reads them, perhaps repeatedly, in solitude, and, of course, before a candid auditor; he finds in them a 'sweetness,' which he is unwilling to waste 'on the desert air;' he indulges a good-natured friend with a recital; and his good-natured friend (although, perchance, he earns his dinner as hardly as Mat at the table of Sir Topaz) can scarcely refuse, with decency, to pay for port with praise: thus encouraged, by a person of the most unequivocal judgment and sincerity, the author deliberates no longer—he sends for a printer, rushes into the jaws of the press, and becomes a lamentable victim of her fatal

τρίστοιχοι ὀδόντες,
Πυκνοὶ καὶ θαμέες, πλεῖοι ΜΕΛΑΝΟΣ θανάτοιο.

That the productions of the School of Ennui should be chiefly of the metrical kind, is a cir-

cumstance which might reasonably be expected; for whilst, on the one hand, the hunting for a jingle of terminations will necessarily prolong the amusement of the writer, so, on the other, a much greater economy of matter is fortunately allowed in a species of composition, of which the well-known canon pronounces, that

> 'One line for sense, and one for rime,
> Is quite enough at any time.'

It is undoubtedly, then, to the wonderful relief afforded in cases of tædium, by the chiming of syllables, that the world is primarily indebted for the *Fables and Satires of Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart.* and we must do ourselves the justice to declare, that we had arranged them among the efforts of the School of Ennui, long before we arrived (towards the end of the second volume) at the author's explicit and manly confession of his guilt. The publication of these pieces, however, is attributed (in the Preface) to the 'worse than mediocrity of the collection of Æsop's fables in our language;' but although this excuse can hardly be extended to a mass of no fewer than three hundred apologues, done into verse from a

variety of sources, yet we are charitably disposed to believe that a sincere wish to amend in amusing, 'prodesse delectando,' may at least have been the leading motive which impelled Sir Brooke Boothby to the press.

The apology for publication is followed by some remarks on fable-writing; of which genus of composition, our author informs us, that there are two species; the one, the simple, 'to strike by force'—and the other, the ornamented, 'to insinuate itself by address." To the former Sir Brooke Boothby gives a decided preference; and turning, with contempt, or despair, from the arts of his predecessors, he has strictly confined himself to the plain, the familiar, and the impressive. In all his translations and imitations, he hopes that he has so modelled his phraseology as in no case to outstep 'the concinnity and simplicity essential to these little compositions.'

'The familiar style,' he continues, 'which is neither flat nor vulgar, is difficult to hit in any language; and, I think, peculiarly so in the present state of the English. The chief force and beauty of this style seems to consist in the proper use of colloquial idioms. But as these are generally formed in the early periods of original tongues,

while they are taking their cast and character; in borrowed and compound languages like ours they will be neither abundant nor very expressive. And the few that we had it became the affectation to proscribe, since it has been the mode to latinize the English language in compliance with the supposed laws of universal grammar, frequently mistaken by the doctors themselves! and to which no language is or can be strictly reducible. Do not these pedants,' [gently, gently, good Sir Brooke] 'know that idioms and anomalies, and vernacular phrases, form the countenance and spirit of a language? That its beauties as well as its defects must consist, not in what it has in common with all others, but in what is peculiar to itself?'

This amiable and warm attachment of Sir Brooke Boothby to the idioms, anomalies, and popular phrases of his mother-tongue, will not, we trust, be deprived of the reward to which it is naturally entitled; and although an unlucky recollection of the ease and liveliness of Gay, the spirit and archness of La Fontaine, the compact neatness of Phædrus, the sportive humour of 'the Town and Country Mouse' of Horace, and the picturesque narration of the 'Cassita' of Aulus Gellius; although, we say, these unfortunate remembrances may for ever banish the translations of Sir Brooke Boothby from the parlour-window, yet his work will doubtless be received with gra-

titude in the nursery and the kitchen; and by thus communicating, as we hope it will, both entertainment and instruction to children and servants, at least discharge its duty towards that class of persons, to whom the author, relying upon the opinion of Quintilian, conceives that the Fables of Æsop are peculiarly adapted—'ducere animos solent, præcipuè rusticorum et imperitorum: qui et simpliciùs quæ fictæ sunt, audiunt, et capti voluptate, facilè iis quibus delectantur consentiunt.'*

In defence of the judgment which we have pronounced, we shall give a few extracts, with very little selection from the work before us.

'THE TRUMPETER TAKEN PRISONER.

A trumpeter in battle ta'en,
Pleading for quarter, urg'd in vain,
That none he ever kill'd or wounded.
His plea by all was judg'd unfounded:
"That he who to the war excites
Is more to blame than he who fights;
That like the rest must be his lot"—
And the poor trumpeter was shot.

We hope it will be universally admitted that the

* Institut. Lib. V. cap. xi.

colloquial pathos of the last line, is much more than a recompence for the grammatical slip in the preceding one.

' THE ANGLER AND THE LITTLE FISH.

An angler a small salmon caught,
Who with much earnestness besought
That he would let her go: says she,
" What can you do with such as *me!*
Next year, when grown a little bigger,
I in your bag might make a figure."
The prudent man replied, " No, no;
Into my pouch, though small, you go:
A bird in hand is better far
Than two that in the bushes are." '

We cannot but observe here, that the last couplet of this piece ought to have been distinguished as an undoubted plagiarism; and we are not a little apprehensive that even some of the most rustic of Sir Brooke Boothby's admirers will detect the theft, from having unavoidably read this celebrated γνωμη, over and over again, at the bottom of the sign appended to some neighbouring alehouse.

" THE DROWNED WOMAN.

In Imitation of La Fontaine.

I am not one of those who hold
That every woman is a scold.

Much higher of the sex I deem,
Worthy of love, respect, esteem;
To whose society we owe
The few blest hours our lives bestow.
But women certainly there are
Ready to wage eternal war;
And so to opposition given,
They'd surely contradict in Heaven.
When one of these by chance was drown'd,
The husband came: "Has no one found
The corpse?" he to some boatmen cried
Upon the bank. "No," they replied,
"The place to seek it is below,
Borne by the current down." "Not so,"
Says one, "but upwards seek, I trow,
For who e'er saw this woman fail
'Gainst wind and tide to set her sail?" '

' THE DUELLIST.

(In imitation of no one, we believe.)

Two Frenchmen once in the *parterre*
Close to each other seated were:
One stopt his nose, and turn'd his head;
"Why do you so?" the other said.
"Faith, if the truth, Sir, I must tell,
It is that you I may not smell."—
"Sir, you insult me"—"Troth, not I,
I speak the truth"—"I say, you lie,
And satisfaction I must have."—
"In shewing, Sir, that you are brave
What you would gain I do not see:
You'd stink no less, if you kill me;
And if my shot should knock you o'er,
You'll surely stink a great deal more." '

We are totally unable to transcribe such pieces as the foregoing without dismay. Is it possible that any one who ventures upon metrical composition should require to be informed that there is such a thing as harmony? Is it possible that his ears should be so dead to the effect of all sound, as not to assure him that, however laboriously he may arrange his syllables by finger and thumb, he may still produce only lines which have scarcely better pretensions to the name of verse than the advertisements in a newspaper? A well-known species of composition has been denominated 'prose run mad,' and we conceive that the lines to which we are alluding might not unaptly be distinguished by the title of 'prose in a strait waistcoat:' so tightly and piteously, indeed, do they seem to be curbed by their metrical shackles, as, in many cases, to be totally unable, after all their struggles, and heavings, and twistings, to express themselves in terms of common intelligibility.

One fable begins

> 'A lad, much younger than the *other*,
> Went with his brother.'

And another finishes with thus describing the deplorable downfal of two unlucky young men, who reproached an old one with the folly of planting.

> 'The giddy youths small profit made.
> Following an avaricious trade,
> One in a storm at sea was drown'd,
> The other with a mortal wound
> Was on a field of battle found:
> Both to survive the old man's date,
> And weep their sad untimely fate.

We were not a little disconcerted too, upon recollecting the solemn promise of simplicity which Sir Brooke Boothby had made to his 'rustici et imperiti,' at stumbling upon such words as 'parterre' (for the pit of a theatre)—'centumviri'—'Cecropia's love'—'savant'—'læsus majestatis'—'Hoc age'—'entrecha[t]s,' &c. and we should also have thought, notwithstanding our indulgence of the author's partiality to colloquial oratory, that he might possibly have summoned up sufficient resolution to condemn such lines as

> 'But both by G— you shan't refuse.'
>
> 'Since you're so d—d fond of pelf,' &c.

To the fabulous compositions of Sir Brooke

Boothby are annexed *Four Satires,* which, we are persuaded, were printed for the same benevolent motives as the rest of his performance.—They undoubtedly contain some very justifiable reproofs of the vicious and the thoughtless; and we cannot but lament that the vicious and the thoughtless should not be allured to the perusal of them by an ampler display of wit, or animated declamation, than is discoverable in any portion of these 'toothless' remonstrances. We have the pleasure of observing, however, that the versification of them is generally superior to that of the Fables.

In the beginning of our critique we alluded to the author's confession of the primary cause of his metrical exertions; and as we are now arrived at the curious dialogue in which it occurs, we shall indulge our readers with a part.

B. What to my fables do you say?
A. You for the sale of them must stay.

We may here observe, *en passant,* that these words but very imperfectly convey the sense which is intended; indeed, as they now stand, they might be construed into a most uncivil prophecy, which we trust will not be accomplished.

Your bookseller the best can tell,
If you have done them ill or well;
What takes is good; what fails is not:
Reviews must fix the author's lot.
If not than those we have much better,
You have achiev'd no mighty matter.

In the two last lines Sir Brooke Boothby's friend is rather too deep for us: we darkly guess at his meaning, indeed; and our guess has somewhat relieved us from the alarm which we felt from hastily, though not unnaturally, referring 'those' to the word 'Reviews' which preceded it.

Possessors must not be expell'd,
Unless they clearly are excell'd.

B. To rival these I did not mean;
For then [when?] their works I scarce had seen.
Chac'd by dire war half Europe o'er,
To Gothland's hyperborean shore,
Ice-bound in dark and cheerless clime,
I wrote to cheat the lingering time.
A Phædrus I, by chance had brought,
Serv'd to amuse the vacant thought;
Then to translate him I began,
And the work easily went on.

A. To publish, then, is to declare
You think they worth attention are:
What solace they afforded you,
Your readers will not care a sous:

A very unpleasant remark this, Mr. A.

And when these fables you translate,

Does Sir Brooke mean to translate them again into their original language?

Do you their wisdom imitate?'

Who, I? O pray let me alone,
A man unknowing and unknown.

A. Not so unknown as you desire.
Though you may out of sight retire,
Malice will not be cheated so,
She can pursue where'er you go.'

We are sorry to find that Sir Brooke Boothby's friend turns out, after all, but a sort of Job's comforter; and we should be still more chagrined if the worthy Baronet could discover, in the foregoing pages, any marks of the 'malice' with which he is threatened. We are not indeed inclined to present the School of Ennui with the motto of *Strenua nos exercet inertia*; but we can assure its pupils that we are far from being incapable of compassionating their sufferings from a melancholy and lingering disease, and that the efforts which they may make to alleviate it will never (as long as they are harmless) provoke us to an exercise of critical severity.

Philosophical Essays by Dugald Stewart, Esq. F. R. S. Edin. Emeritus Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, &c. Edinburgh: printed for Creech, &c. 1810.

THE author of this Work has already attracted much notice, as a metaphysical writer, by his "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind." Without the slightest wish to depreciate the perspicuity and neatness of that performance, we confess that its popularity has been observed by us with regret; it re-inculcates, in our apprehension, several of those dogmata which have been exploded by the soundest metaphysicians; and which have no small tendency to restore the obscurity and uncertainty of reasoning in the Science of Mind, with which it had been too long and too justly reproached.

The wish to exalt the reputation of a friend, appears to have had no trifling influence on Professor Stewart in the composition of his "Elements;" but allowing all that ought to be allowed for an amiable partiality to the memory of his well-informed and ingenious countryman, we cannot but refuse the costly sacrifice which is demanded to his manes. The unsatisfactory doctrine, enforced by Reid, of a variety of *instinctive* principles in the human mind, has been so irresistibly attacked,* that we were not a little astonished to find it re-awakened and re-adopted, at least to a certain extent, in the work to which we are alluding. We conceived that all controversy on the subject was entirely at rest; it was certainly so among the English Metaphysicians, who were calmly guiding themselves, by the torch of Hartley, through the cloudy rampart of instincts which had been opposed to their progress,

"——— et lucem sub nubila jactant."

* Particularly in the lively and acute "Examination" by Priestley "of Drs. Reid, Beattie, and Oswald."

Nor are we, indeed, at all apprehensive that the production in question will prove detrimental to the *veteran* in metaphysical study; but it is an *elementary* work; we hear that it has been recommended by high authority, in this country, to *youthful* students; and it is certainly composed in a manner well calculated to win their attention; such, then, would we kindly warn to withhold their assent to many of the opinions which are maintained in it, till they have at least duly weighed the powerful, and to us conclusive arguments, by which those opinions have been assailed.

We trust, that in making the foregoing observations, we have neither invidiously, nor unpardonably, wandered from our more immediate concern; a notice of the metaphysical tenets of the writer of whom we have to speak, may not be deemed an improper prelude to the revisal of his "Essays."

We proceed but a few pages in the *Preliminary Dissertation* to that work, before we find the author commencing (as we had good reason to sus-

pect he would) an attack upon Dr. Hartley; the theory of *vibrations,* on which that profound philosopher has attempted to ground his explanation of mental phænomena, is viewed by Professor Stewart with a very unfavourable eye. But although he hesitates not to stigmatize it with the title of "a philosophical romance," yet his reproach is entirely unsupported by physiological, or indeed by any other arguments. He contents himself with triumphing in a declaration of Mr Belsham, "that we cannot absolutely ascertain what that affection of brain is, which by the constitution of human nature causes memory," and that "the theory of vibrations, though more probable than some others, is still but an hypothesis." Now, granting it to be merely hypothetical, and allowing that it might be entirely relinquished without any injury to the system which has been connected with it, yet in the condemnation of so probable an hypothesis, we conceive that a clear and precise answer should at least have been *attempted* to some portion of the able and almost mathematical reasoning by which it is supported. "That external objects," says

Hartley,* "impress vibratory motions upon the medullary substance of the nerves and brain, which is the immediate instrument of sensation,† appears from the *continuance* of the sensations,‡ since no motion besides a vibratory one *can* reside in any part for the least moment of time. External objects, being corporeal, *can* act upon the nerves and brain, which are also corporeal, by nothing but impressing *motion* on them. A vibratory motion may continue for a *short time* in the small medullary particles of the nerves and brain without disturbing [or disorganizing] them, and after a short time would cease, and so would *correspond* to the short continuance of sensations; and there seems to be no other species of motion which *can* correspond thereto." These, and various other acute physiological arguments, in favour of the theory in question, are totally unnoticed by Professor Stewart; but as the examination of them would not have been of a very

* Observations on Man, vol. I. sect. 1, Proposition 4.

† *Demonstrated* by - - - Proposition 1.

‡ *Demonstrated* by - - - Proposition 3.

alluring or popular kind, we can readily pardon the omission, if the Professor will condescend in future to place the vibrations of Hartley on the same shelf with the *Ether* of Newton, and to regard them with equal scepticism and equal *reverence.*

"Intimately connected," says our author, "with the physiological hypothesis of the Hartleian school is their metaphysical theory of *association,* from which single principle they boast to have explained synthetically all the phænomena of mind." True—such is their *boast*; and if their boast be sound, the *instinctive* principles of Reid must inevitably fall—this seems to have been the associated idea which led the Professor, in his *next* paragraph, to begin a defence of the Philosopher of Glasgow, by insinuating that his celebrated *Twelve Principles* have not been fairly stated by Dr. Priestley, and "that it is difficult to see for what reason the enumeration" (of course he means the *principles themselves*) "should be regarded as absurd, or even unphilosophical, after the explanation given by Reid himself of the sense in which his conclusions are to be under-

stood." That explanation is added. "The most general phænomena we can reach," says Dr. Reid, "are what we call the Laws of Nature. So that the Laws of Nature are nothing else but the *most general facts* relating to the operations of Nature, which include a great many particular facts under them. And if, in any case, we should give the name of a law of Nature to a general phænomenon which human industry shall afterwards trace to one more general, *there is no harm done*;" and again, "the labyrinth may be too intricate, and the thread too fine to be traced through all its windings; but if we stop where we can trace it no farther, and secure the ground we have gained, *there is no harm done.*"

We are afraid, that the repetition of such truisms as these will win but little indulgence to the opinions in question. *There is no harm done!* Thank heaven, our laws and liberties would still be secure, our men might be brave, and our women might be chaste, if the Instinctive Principles of Reid were for ever triumphant. No harm would be done—except, indeed, to the Science of Metaphysics—with respect to them,

as Priestley justly remarks, "the suspicion that we are got to ultimate principles, necessarily checks all further enquiry, and is therefore of great disservice in Philosophy. Let Dr. Reid lay his hand upon his breast and say, whether after what he has written, he would not be exceedingly mortified to find it clearly proved, to the satisfaction of all the world, that the instinctive principles in the preceding table were really acquired, and that all of them were nothing more than so many different cases of the old and well-known principle of *Association of Ideas*." That such is the fact, Dr. Priestley has endeavoured to prove; with what success, we presume that *few* will ask, who have perused his Examination of the Scotch Metaphysicians. Among those few, however, we are compelled to class Professor Stewart, and the reason which he gives for his scepticism shall be accurately stated: "In all other sciences," he urges, "the progress of discovery has been gradual, from the less general to the more general laws of Nature, and it would be singular indeed if in *this* science," (that of Metaphysics) "which but a few years ago was confessedly in its in-

fancy, and which certainly labours under many disadvantages, a step should all at once be made to a *single principle,* comprehending all the particular phænomena which we know." To this argument against the Hartleian theory, and which appears to be a palmary one with the Professor, from his having here repeated it from his "Elements," we would merely make this simple rejoinder. Might it not have been urged, in all respects with *equal* weight, against the Theory of *Newton?* As the fall of the apple to that Philosopher was the Association of ideas to Hartley.

Other remarks unfavourable to our great metaphysician, but which appear to us to be no less frivolous than the foregoing, occur in the Dissertation which we are noticing; it is objected that the phrase "association of ideas" is used in a much more *extensive* sense by Hartley than by Locke;* although in such use of it (or of synonymous terms) the former is countenanced by other metaphysicians. The question is then asked,

* This is far from being decisively proved; although Locke indeed has *chiefly* used the principle of Association of Ideas to account for certain *anomalies* of opinion and conduct.

what advantage do we derive from the pretended discovery of Hartley? "I must acknowledge," says the Professor, "that I perceive none. Nor is even this sufficient; on a passage, consisting but of a few lines, in which Hartley has perhaps too much indulged his imagination (a fault by no means common with him) in expressing his hope of a somewhat fanciful perfection of science; on this pardonable reverie of a great and ardent mind, Professor Stewart observes, with a very unphilosophical impetuosity, "that if he had never read another sentence of this author, he would have required no *further* evidence of the *unsoundness of his understanding*." Further evidence then, it should seem, of the unsoundness of Hartley's understanding the Professor *has* found. Where? Did he find it in a legitimate subtilty of investigation which baffles an ordinary intellect to follow it in all its ramifications? Did he find it in an extensive and well-applied knowledge of physiology, mathematics, arts, divinity, and morals? Or did he find it in the heart-moving pages of piety, benevolence, and humility?

The *second* Chapter of the Dissertation before

us contains the Professor's vindication of certain opinions in his "Elements" which had been censured in the Edinburgh Review; but having no disposition to intermix in this dispute, we shall proceed to his *Essays*. The *first* of these is entitled "On Locke's account of the sources of human knowledge, and its influence on the doctrines of some of his successors." This Essay opens with expatiating on the value of *consciousness*, the importance of attending to the feelings which we receive from it, and the belief which accompanies it "as to the present existence of its appropriate phænomena." Now however powerfully we may be convinced by consciousness of the actual existence of our own perceptions and emotions, yet no proof, we conceive, can be adduced from it of the truth of those *persuasions* which may be suggested by such perceptions or emotions. In this opinion, indeed, the Professor appears to acquiesce; but he observes in addition to it, that "the distinction becomes important merely from the *palpable refutation* it affords of the prevailing theory concerning the origin of our knowledge, and not from any *difference* be-

tween the two classes of truths in point of evidence." With this mysterious assertion the first chapter terminates. In the next, the Professor proceeds to determine "the *only* direct and appropriate subjects of consciousness in the strict acceptation of the word," and he observes that there are many ideas, such as those of time, motion, personal identity, number, and relative ideas of different kinds, which cannot possibly be derived from consciousness alone, and he therefore condemns the notion, which he deems to be the basis of the philosophy of Locke and Hume, "that *consciousness* is exclusively the source of all our knowledge." As Locke certainly taught that our ideas were all derived from sensation or reflection, we object not to the statement which the Professor has here advanced; but the attempt which he makes, at the same time, to overthrow the basis of Locke, appears to be extremely unavailing. The class of ideas which Professor Stewart asserts to be not derived from consciousness alone, are those of a complex or abstract kind, and even if it were admitted that such ideas could not be obtained but by the operation of

several mental faculties, yet for the subject-matter of those operations we must have recourse to the simple ideas, or sensations, which are originally conveyed to us by consciousness;* and even if any new idea could be generated by the agency of the faculties alluded to, those ideas would also be communicated to us by the *same medium.* But the generation of such new ideas has never been established by proof. *Memory* recalls only the impressions which we have already received; *Abstraction* is merely the omitting of all other ideas which are connected with some peculiar one (or more) that is *common* to a variety of things; and many of the ideas which have been hastily deemed to be simple, and to be derived from *Reason,* have been proved to be extremely

* This *seems* to be admitted by Reid himself, for he remarks that "It is a very fine and just observation of Locke, that as no human art can create a single particle of matter, and the whole extent of our power over the material world consists in compounding, combining, and disjoining the matter made to our hands, so in the world of thought the materials are all made by nature, and can only be variously combined and disjoined by us."—*Reid's Inquiry into the Human Mind, C.* v. *S.* 7.

complex, and have been skilfully dissected into the ideas of sensation of which they are composed.*

In the concluding chapters of this Essay Professor Stewart proceeds to point out the effect which has been produced upon our most celebrated metaphysicians by Locke's Theory of the origin of our knowledge, and expatiates upon the objections to that theory, which we have already noticed. We may therefore pass over these chapters with merely observing, that the *acceptance* of the principles which we have been endeavouring to defend, by those who were so eminently qualified to detect the fallacies that might lurk in them, is an argument of some weight in favour of their accuracy and solidity.

The *second* Essay is "on the Idealism of Berkeley." It is not, however, intended as an attack upon that theory, but merely to correct some mistakes concerning its nature and scope "which have misled many of its partizans as well as oppo-

* See Priestley's Introductory Essays to his abridged Hartley. See too in Hartley, vol. 1, c. iii. and p. 56, 73 (1st edition) an explanation of the phænomena of Memory, Imagination, and of the Reasoning Faculty, on the principle of the Association of Ideas, *primarily derived from sensation.*

nents." One of these mistakes is the confounding "of *idealism* with the sceptical doctrines which represent the existence of the material world as a thing which is *doubtful*; the other confounds it with the physical theory of Boscovitch." That both these views of the subject are erroneous is indubitably true. Berkeley unequivocally asserts the *impossibility* of the existence of matter, in the usual sense of the word.* With respect to the intermingling of the theory of Boscovitch with that of Berkeley, it has not hitherto been prevalent. We believe it is nearly confined to the metaphysical work of Dr. Hutton, of Edinburgh, who is much more celebrated as a mineralogist than as a metaphysician.

In the course of this Essay our author enters into a discussion of Reid's attack upon Berkeley; he deems it on the whole to be *unanswerable*; but he is not satisfied that Dr. Reid has stated the *fact* on his own side of the question with sufficient fullness and correctness; for he conceives that there was no necessity for resting the proof

* If more than the Professor's proof of this were required, we would refer to "The Principles of Human Knowledge," Part I. Sect. 73.

of the existence of matter on any *particular* instinctive belief of that fact, but that such belief might have been included under another law of our nature, still more general, namely, our persuasion "that the order of things in time to come will continue similar to what they have been in time past," a persuasion which Professor Stewart teaches to be *instinctive,* "being," as he says, "neither the result of the association of ideas, nor of any other principle generated by experience alone." Now on all this we would remark, that Reid's confutation of Berkeley amounts to no more than, "that the material world exists, *because* we have an instinctive persuasion that it *does* exist." What sort of *reasonable* conviction can be induced by this assertion? And what would become of it if offered to a genuine *Berkeleian.*" *He* has no such persuasion. And as to the *innate* belief of "the permanency of the Laws of Nature," (in which Professor Stewart is desirous of engulphing the *minor instinct* of his friend) we conceive that it can be as readily explained by the Association of Ideas, as any other conclusion which rests upon a reasoning by *Analogy.**

* How unnecessary and even ludicrous is the hypothesis

We have nothing to add on the subject of this Essay, except that we agree with our author in deeming the inference which has been drawn by Berkeley of the total *impossibility* of the existence of matter to be somewhat rash; yet to those who are such complete immaterialists as to believe in no other agency than that of *Spirit*, the inference of which we are speaking will not appear unsound. But with respect to the rest of the reasoning of our English Plato, however ineffectual it may prove in producing conviction, we have never yet met with any arguments by which it was decisively overturned.

The *third* Essay, which might have been better placed, we think, at the conclusion of the first, treats of "the influence of Locke's authority upon the philosophical systems which prevailed in *France* during the latter part of the eighteenth century." This Essay exhibits a very wide and

that "a burnt child dreads the fire" from an instinctive belief in the *permanency of the Laws of Nature*, and *not* from an involuntary and strong association of the idea of *pain* with the *object* which produced it. (See the Essays, p. 76). The instinct in question might, by a parity of reasoning, be ascribed to many classes of the *inferior animals*; the child's *kitten* has as much pretensions to it as the child itself.

distinct view of the subject of which it treats, and shews that, although the most eminent of the French metaphysicians eagerly embraced the principles of Locke, and vied with each other in extolling him, hardly two of them can be named who have understood those principles exactly in the same sense.

The *fourth* Essay contains a short attack upon "the Theories of Hartley, Priestley, and Darwin." It rests upon the same reasoning, with respect to the origin of our knowledge, as that which we have already encountered. On the subject of *materiality* (on which this Essay chiefly turns) Hartley is admitted to be entirely *hors de question*; but the doctrines on that point, which have been taught by Priestley and by Darwin, are impugned by several lively and ingenious arguments, which our limits forbid us to detail.

The *fifth* Essay is "on the tendency of some late philological opinions."* It opens with an attempt to explain the formation of words of various classes. In an assertion, however, which

* Those of Mr. Horne Tooke.

the Professor makes in the beginning of this enquiry, we are by no means prepared to acquiesce ; "it is *easy*," he says, "to conceive the origin of the different classes of words composing a *conventional* dialect, to conceive for example that two savages should *agree* to call this animal a *horse* and that tree an *oak*." Now to us it is by no means *easy* to understand how any such thing should come to pass ; for supposing the savages in question to be in a sufficiently good humour to agree in any thing, yet we know not how they *could* agree upon the *application* of *articulate* sounds, while they laboured under a total incapacity of uttering them. In yells, indeed, and uncouth dissonance they might succeed pretty well ; and those who were endowed with a musical ear, might, in due time, be enabled to imitate the voices of animals with tolerable exactness ; but we are afraid that their progress in the formation of even a very confined conventional dialect with these materials only, would be prodigiously slow and laborious ; we doubt, indeed, if it would ever be attempted ; those persons who have not the power of articulating, are usually able to com-

municate their ideas, sufficiently for the ordinary purposes of life, by *signs* alone. Such, we conceive, would be the sole language of savages. That the art of speech is *uniformly* acquired (and that with no small difficulty even in the midst of a ready-formed tongue) by means of imitation and tuition, will of course be readily admitted; whence then should it be obtained by the imaginary inventors of the first conventional dialect? Certainly not by the usual *natural* means; by *supernatural* means, then, or not at all. This mode of reasoning conducts to the conclusion (which is also deducible from Scripture) of an original inspired language When thus communicated, in a degree corresponding with the urgency of the case, its further advances, no less than its continued propagation, would be effected by natural causes. It has been urged in favour of the human invention of language, that the dialects of various tribes would gradually coalesce into a *common* tongue; a decisive proof of this, however, has never been adduced; in the *peaceable* intercourse of nations, whose language differed, it has generally happened that no radical

change has been made in the dialect of either of them, and that a few words or expressions only have been mutually borrowed; whereas, on the contrary, the remarkable tendency of a common or mother tongue, to run into varieties, is sufficiently notorious. Thus the Celtic, which is the earliest language that we can trace in this Island (and deemed to have been introduced by conquest) has deviated into the Cornish, the Erse, the Irish, and the Mants; other instances of a similar kind might be adduced; and it is easy to conceive that the original language of inspiration would be gradually varied and enlarged, according to the physical peculiarities, the wants, and the habits of the different tribes among which it was scattered.* But to return to our author. On the theory of Mr. Tooke he observes, that it "evidently assumes as a principle, that in order to ascertain with precision the philosophical import of any word, it is necessary to trace its progress historically through all the successive mean-

* Considerable changes, though their extent may not be precisely ascertainable, must have been effected by the miraculous "Confusion of Tongues."

ings, which it has been employed to convey, from the moment that it was introduced into language. To me on the contrary," continues the Professor, " to appeal to etymology in a philosophical argument (excepting perhaps in those cases where the word itself is of a philosophical origin) is altogether nugatory, and can serve at best to throw an amusing light on the laws which regulate the operations of human fancy." In this opinion we are entirely disposed to acquiesce; if we were to grant that in those cases in which a word has acquired an extremely *metaphorical* and obscure meaning, it might be recalled to a more definite signification by recurring to its etymon, it is all that we are disposed to grant. With regard to the general elucidation of our tongue by the theory of Tooke, we shall (without enlarging upon the subject) borrow a hint from the ingenious and learned " Criticisms on the Diversions of Purley,"* and shall ask,—when we are informed that " Ass be out a saddle," " Man join

* By J. Cassander. Some errors in Mr. Tooke's *derivations* are ably detected in this little work.

a cloak," "Figs come beginning Turkey," &c. would have been the original mode of expressing "an Ass without a saddle," "a Man with a cloak," and "Figs come from Turkey," are we not so far from deriving from this information (even granting it to be correct) a clearer idea of the meaning of "without," "with," and "from," that a recurrence to the original signification of those words would rather have a tendency to confuse than to enlighten? Of the merit of Mr. Tooke's discoveries we trust, however, we are fully aware; and we willingly give him credit for having in a most acute, and *generally* in a most satisfactory manner, extended to our own tongue a theory which was originally applied by Schultens to the Hebrew; and which undoubtedly throws a powerful light upon the structure of languages.

We proceed to the *second* part of the work before us.

In the very expanded Essay "on Beauty," with which that part commences, we find but little to attract peculiar attention. In truth it is a subject which has been almost exhausted. We

shall not therefore detail the long series of objections to the theory of Mr. Burke, nor the shorter strictures on that of Hogarth, with which we are presented by Professor Stewart; those theories, though certainly creditable to their inventors at a less advanced period of metaphysical science, have been so repeatedly refuted, that levelling them once more with the dust, is merely "slaying the slain." We were well satisfied, however, though not a little surprised, to find our author directing the attention of his readers to the Essays of *Mr. Alison,* and joining, at least to a certain extent, in the admiration which we had long felt of his happy and convincing application of the comprehensive hints of Hartley to the subject of Beauty; nor do we feel any repugnance to annex to Mr. Alison's explanation the sketch of a *standard* of Beauty which has been proposed by another writer of the Hartleian school, who after strenuously supporting the doctrine that beauty is not *inherent* in any object, but depends entirely upon the ideas associated with it, thus concludes, "Hence then it follows that the individual of a class of objects is *justly* to be

esteemed more beautiful than the rest, with the whole of which, or with its component parts, (when properly understood) the *greater number* of the excellencies of its class are universally associated ; the same may be asserted of any species of objects compared with any other species of its kind ; and that object may be justly esteemed a *standard* of beauty, with the whole appearance, or with the component parts of which (when properly understood) *all* the excellencies *of its kind* are universally associated." With this doctrine we find a remarkable coincidence in the production of a writer who was no less eminently qualified by his strength of intellect, than by his practical skill, to judge of its validity. " I have no hesitation in asserting," says the late Professor Opie, " that when beauty is said to be the proper end of art, it must not be understood as confining the choice to one set of objects, or as breaking down the boundaries and destroying the natural classes, orders, and divisions of things, but as meaning the perfection of *each object in its kind* in regard to form, colour, and all its other associated and consistent attributes. The discovery

or conception of this great and perfect idea of things, of nature in its purest and most essential form, unimpaired by disease, unmutilated by accident, and unsophisticated by local habits and temporary fashions, and the exemplification of it in practice, by getting above individual imitation, rising from the species to the genus, and *uniting*, in every subject, *all the perfections of which it is capable in its kind*, is the highest and ultimate exertion of human genius."*

The next Essay which occurs is "on the Sublime." It opens with a long enquiry into the literal meaning of that term, which is traced to the signification of *motion upwards;* "but it is not to be imagined," says the Professor, "that because Height is a source of sublime emotion, that *Depth* must necessarily affect the mind with feelings of an opposite description, as it frequently implies active powers exactly the same as those which are displayed in the ascent of animated beings;"—hence, and from the awful feelings experienced in looking down from a tower

* Opie's Lectures, p. 15.

or precipice, the Professor infers that both Height and Depth may be included in the literal signification of the word in question. "The idea of sublimity," he continues, "which is in itself so grateful and so flattering to the mind, *thus* becomes a common basis of a great number of collateral associations." In conformity with this assertion, our author attempts to prove that some notion of Height or Depth may uniformly be detected in those ideas which are deemed to be of a sublime kind. Thus to account for the sublime in the attribute of *Power,* he observes that "the heavens we conceive to be the abode of the Almighty; and when we implore the protection of his omnipotent arm, or express our resignation to his irresistible decrees, we cast our eyes *upwards.*" From this idea of height, the Professor also conceives that the sublimity of *religious* ideas may be deduced, and that these ideas being connected with *Terror,* and thus insinuating into it (if we rightly understand him) some notion of Height, communicates to that emotion all its pretensions to sublimity. To *Darkness,* on the other hand, which he also admits to be an idea of

the sublime kind, he ascribes a connected notion of elevation, or of *depression*—as in the expressions "*fall* of evening"—"*fall* of night," &c. and thus the Professor continues, at a much greater length than we can be permitted to follow him, to hunt out with much ingenuity the notions of Height or of Depth which lurk in other ideas of the sublime kind, and thence to infer that these notions constitute the true and sole basis of sublimity. To any judicious attempt at analyzing associated or complex ideas, we are ever disposed to give a favourable attention; but we are apprehensive that some instances may be adduced in which the foregoing theory can hardly afford complete satisfaction. We shall content ourselves with asking how will it elucidate the *moral* sublime?* And with respect to the ideas of Terror and Obscurity, whose principle of sublimity the Professor has endeavoured to ascertain, we may observe that they are surely presented in circumstances, under which no traces whatsoever can be detected in them of the ideas of *Altitude* or

* As the resolution of the Spartan boy, the death of Leonidas, &c.

of *Depth;* as in the terror, for instance, excited by the ferocious indignation of Medea,* and in the dreadful obscurity with which Milton has enwrapped his figure of *Death.*

The Essay which follows is "on Taste." In it the Professor teaches, in common with a variety of writers on the same subject, that Taste is founded upon *Sensibility* and perfected by *Experience.* In proportion, he observes, to the susceptibility of a given individual, will be the pleasure or disgust which he feels from the different objects of his contemplation, "but till he is able to draw the line distinctly between them, his sensibility will afford no lights of which he can avail himself as an artist or a judge. It is in this *distinguishing* or *discriminating* perception that the power denoted Taste seems chiefly to consist." Upon this proposition, which certainly does not alarm us by its novelty, the Professor dilates through a considerable portion of the Essay before us, and in the third chapter of it he informs us that the *objects* of Taste are of two kinds,

* As pictured by Euripides.

"those which derive their effect from the original adaptation of the human frame to the external universe, and those which please (and he might have added, or displease) in consequence of *associations* formed gradually by experience." This division will doubtless be received without dispute; and we have merely to remark upon it, that by keeping it in view, a ready explanation will suggest itself of those strange anomalies in Taste which we occasionally meet with, that of referring them to some irregularity of bodily structure, or to a much more frequent source of them, a *peculiarity* of associated ideas.

To the Essay which we have now noticed a *final* one is annexed "on the cultivation of certain intellectual habits connected with the first elements of Taste."

That much acute enquiry, and more metaphysical learning, are displayed in the Essays of Professor Stewart, and that they are composed throughout in a perspicuous, correct, and appropriate style, we have no disposition to deny. The fatiguing diffusion of many portions of them may be in some degree excused by their having

been delivered (if we are rightly informed) as a course of Lectures; but we know not what safe apology to offer for a Professor of Moral Philosophy, in the University of Edinburgh, a University so long distinguished by its attachment to metaphysical studies, who still perseveres in inculcating the doctrine of instinctive principles, which, for twenty years past, has been renounced unanimously by even the more enlightened *Students* of his own University.

Pursuits of Agriculture, a Satirical Poem, in Three Cantos, with Notes. London. Stockdale. 1810.

IT would be difficult to discover a more striking characteristic of the times in which we live, than that of an uncommonly vehement zeal for national perfection. To pass over the astonishing improvements in theology, which have lately been obtruded upon our notice, and the well-digested plans for eradicating every speck of corruption from our civil, military, and ecclesiastical establishments, we cannot but contemplate with exultation the strong assurances, which have been afforded by some of our sages, of the unbounded extension of our powers over the material world. By one we have been promised a most happy annihilation of labour from the introduction of self-moving machines; by another we have been flat-

tered with the hope of so prodigious a progress in husbandry, as to ensure from our bushes and briars a plentiful and delicious crop of hot rolls and butter; while a third has lately revived in us the most sanguine expectation of acquiring the art of flying, by assuring us that, although the figure of a man may appear, at first sight, but little fitted for aërial excursions, he is at least as well constructed for that purpose as a crow. The gratitude, however, with which the Saturnian promises of our projectors have been received, is neither so ardent, nor so general, as might possibly have been expected; but the spirit of improvement is still unchecked by the frown of suspicion, or the smile of incredulity; and, conscious of the purity and practicability of its plans, beholds with contempt, or pity, a narrow-minded class of men, who cherish not the slightest hope of any miraculous advancement in the arts of life; of men, who are much more anxious to secure the vulgar blessings which they derive from the Constitution of their country, than to refine it into "an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection;" and who wilfully persevere in believing that religion

was rather revealed as a rule of faith and practice, than as an everlasting theme of speculation and debate.

In this description of persons, the anonymous author of the work before us may possibly be included; not content, however, with indulging a quiet contempt of schemes apparently both crude and visionary, he has pounced upon one class of projectors, the *agricultural*; scrupled not to accuse them of quackery and folly; and even attempted, by a satirical sally,

'To whip th' offending spirit out of them.'

In venturing upon so violent a measure, the author is justly anxious to remove the suspicion of being in the slightest degree unfriendly to any rational endeavours for the improvement of husbandry.

'At the important objects,' he says, 'professedly aimed at by the Society,* I do not, for I cannot laugh. At the strange unsuitableness of means to ends, at their affectation of science, at the queer novelty of some of their discoveries, at the profound gravity with which they talk nonsense, and at their egregious gullibility, I do laugh, because I cannot help it. But I am not, therefore, to be

* The *Norfolk Agricultural Society* is here spoken of.

deemed an adversary. If any fair means were found to check those flashes of irregular genius, those flights of bold enthusiasm, those presumptions of sanguine zeal, which men of great abilities and strong imaginations intermix in matters of patient inquiry and plain practice, so that nothing but what is really and intelligibly useful were left—certainly a man who contributes his best to so great an improvement, whether in prose or in rhyme, whether in merriment or sober sadness, is no adversary, but rather a friend and ally. I therefore do not attempt to recount methodically all the labours (or, if you will, the sports) of the Society. I make a selection of such as best suit my purpose, and seem most capable of poetical embellishment. Poetical fiction is altogether out of the question. Nothing can go beyond (at least I can conceive nothing beyond) actual and undeniable facts, which I have merely invested, not at all disguised, in ludicrous diction and imagery.' Pref. p. iii.

Such being the ground which the author professes to occupy, his attack, we conceive can hardly be deemed unfair or malicious; it will undoubtedly excite the mirth of those who are ungalled by his shafts; and as to the sufferers—they must find their consolation in amendment.

After a becoming invocation of his provincial muse, the poet begins his song with a sketch of the edifying process of reading to the collective body of Norfolk agriculturists, a communication

couched in terms completely incomprehensible to the greater part of the audience.

> 'How little plants, call'd parasitic,
> Make wheat-straw weak and paralytic;
> How tiny fungi on a glume
> Vital humidity consume;
> (What mischief comes of things so small!)
> In series longitudinal
> They pop their heads through gaping pores,
> Like ghosts theatric from trap-doors;
> Each is imperforate,' &c.

A deception practised on the society under the name of a Mr. Macfarlan (and which, we are informed in a note, was justly provoked) affords a more fruitful subject for the playful imagination of the writer. The representative of this imaginary stranger transmitted, it seems, to one of the quarterly meetings, a collection of forced turnips of extraordinary size and beauty; he dignified them with the sonorous appellation of the *Brassica Polymorpha*; pretended that they were a production of the polar regions; that they not only endured, but delighted in the utmost extremity of cold; and strongly recommended them to cultivation as a never-failing supply for winter stock. The turnips and the proposal were re-

ceived with equal gratitude; Mr. Macfarlan was voted, by acclamation, a member extraordinary; and happy was the agriculturist who could secure a specimen of the invaluable *Kolgoian* root. Such are the outlines of a transaction which is skilfully expanded by our Hudibrastic bard. We transcribe his description of the 'Arctic turnip-isles.'

'But, lo! a stranger—lead him forth—
Sandy Macfarlan fro' the North.
Tom Coriat of the frozen zone,
Who saw—what he has seen alone.
On hyperborean billows tost,
In noon-day darkness often lost,
Ah! with what transport of delight
Did ye, blest islands, glad his sight,
Frozen *Kolgoi* and chil *Kandina*,
Fair lands, all lily-bright and shiny!
Sure fairies built the rocky pile
Of ice like granite round each isle.
Here from its smooth storm-polish'd face
Reflected, see the down-clad race,
Famished sea-fowl, that hither roam,
And scream, and then go hungry home.
There varied in unnumber'd forms,
Quaint work of gusts, and blasts, and storms,
In rifts, on crags, above below,
Wreath'd, drifty, billowy, plumy snow.
O'er the whole land what meets the sight?
One pure expanse of dazzling white;

Save where the hoar-frost gives to view
Its spangled gems of orient hue,
Through vap'rous sleet as Phœbus gleams
With slanting horizontal beams.
Wondrous to tell, on these drear lands,
(Planted, no doubt, by elfin hands)
Fine crops of turnips snugly grow,
Protected by perennial snow.'

Another 'sport,' which attracts the attention of the satirist, is the cramming of cattle to a most preposterous obesity.

——————— 'expensive plans
For deluging of dripping-pans!
Alas! what tantalizing meat,
Too dear to buy, too fat to eat!—
'Tis an odd way to make a plenty,
For one to eat the food of twenty.'

The happy invention of feeding sheep with Scotch firs, and hogs with muscles, is ludicrously touched upon; and the second canto concludes with a note, in which are gazetted the particulars of a well-planned though unsuccessful attack upon a foraging party of those unprincipled marauders, turnip-flies.

In the third and final canto, the author no longer confines himself, with an exclusive filial affection to his favoured Society; without, how-

ever, entirely abandoning it, he rouzes himself to more extensive exertions, and skilfully launches his 'ωκεα βελη' against a mass of projects, which would hardly have disgraced the Professors of the University of Laputa. He thus addresses the collective tribe of philanthropic speculators:

> 'Come, then, with generous ardour fired,
> All ye who pant to be admired
> For genius and inventive power;
> Come, snatch the renovating hour!—
> Give all you can, we'll dream the rest,
> And ask no better than your best:
> No scrap we scorn, the very least
> May vary or adorn the feast
> Of science, wisdom, wit, and sense—
> Grand Pic-Nic of intelligence!'

After this encouraging invocation, the author directs his descant to the celebration of the terrene arts and sciences; several of which, as he satisfactorily shews, are deeply indebted to our Georgical literati for a learned and imposing title: improvements of equal importance have undoubtedly been made in them in other respects; but notwithstanding the exultation of our author on this topic, we confess that none of the modern discoveries which are recorded by him appear to

us to equal, in real utility, the too-long-forgotten drum of Boccalini, which would beat up all the weeds in a field, and leave the corn standing.

From earthly to watery arts, the transition is easy; and we accordingly find the stream of song thus bursting forth in praise of the irrigation of hills!

> 'Proceed, great days! bright suns, arise!
> Visions of bliss, oh greet our eyes!
> Flat marshes mount, rough rocks subside,
> Upwards, ye streams, irriguous glide—
> Air, earth, and water all obey
> Enlighten'd man's imperial sway,
> That all his labours may become
> But exercise to sweeten home,
> To give keen appetite to eat
> The luscious fruits and savoury meat,
> Which ye'll produce at his devotion;' &c.

The colours of this consolatory picture are farther heightened by the author's foretaste of a total abolition of tythes, and by the lively description, which he has annexed, of the 'tipsy dance and jollity' of universal nature on that grand occasion. It is impossible that rural felicity should proceed farther—and the poet has therefore stopped to refresh himself with a bird's

eye view of the various items of happiness which will now be enjoyed by his beloved county.

Among the mass of devices excogitated by this indefatigable society, we had nearly overlooked one of a very extraordinary kind, viz. the offer of a premium 'for shearling wethers fed with *vegetable food only*.' Canto III. p. 217. We profess ourselves to be equally at a loss with the author, to discover the practicability of feeding them with any other species of aliment. We recollect, indeed, the anthropophagous taste of the horses of Diomed; but we always conceived this to be a solitary instance of depraved appetite in graminivorous animals, and we do not even now see any urgent necessity for offering a reward to prevail upon a hungry sheep to satisfy its cravings with grass or turnips.

Little hesitation can be felt, we imagine, in pronouncing the writer of the Pursuits of Agriculture to be no unsuccessful pupil of the Hudibrastic school. In the critique of Dr. Johnson on the works of Butler, he complains (a little strangely) of a satiety and fatigue arising from the incessant wit of that 'mirth-moving' bard,

and reproves his unremitting efforts to shine, by the following distich :

'Omnia vis bello, Matho, dicere : dic aliquando
Et bene ; dic neutrum ; dic aliquando male.'

We do not suspect that the imitators of Butler have extended this caution to themselves : we are convinced, on the contrary, that, from adopting a familiar and unpoetic phraseology, which requires so constant a support of quaintness, humour, and epigrammatic point, they have discovered that no ordinary industry is demanded to exclude the prosaic and the insipid ; and if a slight sprinkling of expressions of that description can be detected in the Pursuits of Agriculture, they are entitled to some indulgence ; more especially as the author, in composing an entire verse of a single word,

'Unagriculturistical,'

has performed a feat which is no where exhibited, we believe, in the productions of his renowned preceptor.

The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. By J. Britton, F. S. A. London. Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme. 1805 *to* 1810.

FEW objects are more interesting in the progress of civilization, than man rising from his cave, or his hovel of clay and twigs, from habitations of less skilful construction than the chambers of the beaver or the nest of the wren, and applying his strength and sagacity to architectural improvement. He proceeds in his laborious career till he has piled up prodigious masses of materials, which seem to promise a duration as lasting as the soil on which they rest. Not content, however, with bulk and height of structure, which appear to have formed his earliest idea of architectural excellence, he next directs his attention to the harmonious and graceful arrangement

of component parts; to the ascertainment of the most pleasing proportions; and he finally enriches his fabric with the varied embellishment of a toilsome and finished sculpture.

In such a progress, the invention of the arch must have formed an era of considerable importance: this skilful and secure device has been ascribed, with some probability, to the talents of Archimedes; although it is generally admitted to have been but partially adopted before the time of Hadrian; a degree of strength and elegance was thus added to the architectural beauties already attained, and the art itself at length appeared to have reached the summit of perfection.

A distaste to the servility of copying, or a despair of equalling, by imitation, the pure and admirable architecture of Greece and Rome, may, probably, have given rise (about the period of the downfal of the Western Empire) to the absurd practice of intermixing with it a greater variety and irregularity of shape, and of loading it with an extravagant richness and wildness of decoration. From the licence thus assumed, the *Gothic* species of building may have ultimately

arisen; whether we ascribe its immediate invention to the fertile imagination of an Oriental people, and to their fondness for some peculiar forms and ornaments previously familiar to them; or agree, with Warburton, in deducing its origin from the contemplation of the arched grove and the intersecting branches of contiguous trees; or whether, again, we incline to adopt a later theory of its derivation, from the varied combinations of wicker-work which was formerly used, by many nations, in the construction of their humbler dwellings, and even of places consecrated to religion. From whatever germ we may be disposed to trace its growth, it cannot but be deemed a corruption of the architecture already described; but, although a corruption, we may surely say '*abundat dulcibus vitiis*;' and whilst, in the chaster style of Greece and Rome, we can easily imagine a correspondence to the simple majesty of Homer, or the correct embellishment of Virgil, the Gothic may not unaptly be compared to the splendid and fanciful variety of Tasso and Ariosto, to whom, however, the purest and most classical ear refrains not from listening with delight.

The most ancient architectural remains in this kingdom, which chiefly consist of Druidical structures and towers for defence, are supposed, in several instances at least, to be imitations of oriental buildings; an hypothesis which receives some corroboration from the opinion maintained by Camden, and other distinguished antiquaries, of an early migration into Britain from the East. With Roman arms, Roman arts were introduced; and the architecture of that people appears to have been partially adopted in England, when the country was forsaken by her civilized conquerors, and gradually occupied, after many severe conflicts, by the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. All progress was then effectually checked; the new invaders continued, in the districts which they subdued, the barbarous mode of building to which they had been previously accustomed, and, for more than a hundred years after their inroads into England, their civil and religious edifices were inartificially compacted of timber and covered with rushes. In the middle of the seventh century, however, the Lombard style of Architecture was imported from Italy; stone was now

employed in the military and larger ecclesiastical buildings, and many of the latter are said to have been even profusely adorned with rich and elegant, though, occasionally, with fanciful and grotesque carvings. We confess ourselves but little disposed to credit all that has been advanced respecting the splendour and decorations of the Anglo-Saxon style; the undoubted specimens of it which remain are extremely rare, rarer we think than is usually suspected; and although a late writer, of acknowledged antiquarian skill, has attempted to ascertain the criteria by which its different eras were distinguished,* yet we fear that he has not unfrequently indulged himself in too great a latitude of hypothesis, and, in more instances than one, deduced his conclusions from buildings, or remains, which are by no means proved to be Saxon. As a striking oversight in this respect, we may adduce the church of St. Albans, of which the author in question has greatly availed himself, and the whole of which (as Matthew Paris expressly informs us) was built

* King's Munimenta Antiqua, vol. iv.

by Paulus, and dedicated by his successor in the year 1115.* Notwithstanding, however, the impediments to a full and satisfactory elucidation of the subject on which we have touched, there is sufficient reason to believe that no other difference existed between the later Anglo-Saxon architecture and the Norman which immediately succeeded it, than the greater massiness of the latter, and a few peculiarities of ornament.

Both these styles, which are equally marked by the use of the semicircular arch, are universally deemed, by antiquaries, to be merely a corrupt species of the Roman. But, in the thirteenth century, another mode of building began to prevail in England; the semicircular arch now yielded to the pointed one; the pillars were of more slender and graceful proportions, and frequently clustered; the sculpture was more correct and elegant; and imitations of leaves and

* Vit. xxiii. S. Alban. Abbat. p. 50, 55. Op. fol. (Wats' Edit.) Waltham Abbey Church too, which is asserted by Mr. King to be an *unquestionable* specimen of the architecture of Edward the Confessor, was re-dedicated (of course after an entire or material *re-construction*) in the year 1242.

flowers were peculiarly prevalent; other ornaments and enrichments were gradually added; groined and fretted roofs, diversified and fantastic mullions, and all the florid and gorgeous decorations which appear in our Gothic edifices from the middle of the fifteenth century to the revival of the Roman architecture. For this revival the nation is primarily indebted to the taste and influence of Hans Holbein. During the period in which he lived, however, but little exultation could be felt in the effect of his interference; we know not of any English buildings, in the restored style of Roman architecture, which are worthy of the slightest applause before the time of Inigo Jones; and in that of Sir Christopher Wren, the architecture of which we are speaking, arrived at the highest pitch of perfection which it has hitherto attained in this country. But, however deserving of admiration their principal works may be, it cannot but be admitted that our pretensions to architectural eminence must rest upon our Gothic, rather than upon our Roman structures; and it must consequently be regretted that the taste and genius which were displaying

themselves in the former, during the reign of Henry the Seventh, should have been injudiciously diverted, under his successor, into a different channel. Our latest style of Gothic architecture may possibly be deemed incapable of improvement; but an opinion of this kind might have been adopted at an earlier stage of our progress with equal pretensions to validity, if it had never been refuted by experiment and perseverance. It is not, perhaps, easy to point out the sources from which additional decorations and beauties might be derived; yet something may be advanced on this point; selections from the Arabesque,* from the Oriental, and from the Egyptian style might probably have been introduced with effect: a hint for the improvement of the entrances of our churches might have been borrowed from our continental neighbours;† a rich and elegant variety in the construction of our

* An instance of this mixture occurs in the much admired church of Batalha, in Portugal.

† As from the splendid and noble doors of the Cathedral at Rheims. The *comparative* meanness of the *doors* of our most celebrated cathedrals is peculiarly mortifying.

towers might have been adopted from the pyramidal steeple of the cathedral at Antwerp; the form of our later arch might even have been advantageously changed for that of the era of Henry the Fourth, while the more frequent adoption of the portico, to which the cathedral of Peterborough is so exclusively indebted for its celebrity, might have afforded a stately and magnificent variation in the fronts of our ecclesiastical structures. Such indeed is the perfect freedom of invention indulged to the Gothic style, that no limit can be reasonably affixed to the beautiful varieties into which it might have wandered, had not its progress been so effectually checked by the absurd determination to imitate a class of buildings which we have no prospect of equalling.

The high veneration, lately revived in England, for the pointed style, has excited in some of our antiquaries an eager desire to vindicate to us the invention of that species of architecture, and to substitute the appellation of 'English,' for that of 'Gothic,' by which it was reproachfully distinguished, in this country, in the sixteenth century. The attempt, however, has not

been successful; and in a work,* which has lately supplied a most important desideratum in our architectural researches, an irresistible proof is exhibited of the much more rapid progress of the Gothic style in France than in England; while, for the *introduction* of it, we appear to be indebted to the Normans, as marks of the Gothic mode of building occur at Caen and Bayeux, which may reasonably be deemed of somewhat higher antiquity than any with which we are acquainted in this island.

But however satisfactorily it may be inferred that the Gothic architecture of England was derived and improved from that of the Continent, yet the origin of the style itself is by no means decisively ascertained. A powerful attempt has recently been made (in the valuable work of Mr. Whittington) to revive and confirm the supposition of its invention in the East; a supposition which was started by Wren, accepted by Lowth, and maintained by Warton; and which seems to

* Whittington's Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France.

receive a further support from the fact, recorded by Matthew Paris,* of the employment of captive Saracens as labourers under European architects. Difficulties, however, still remain: the objection, so often urged, of the uncertain date of the more ancient oriental edifices, does not appear to be removed; and we further perceive in the structures of the East, and in the indubitable remains of the Saracenic style in Spain and Portugal, certain peculiarities in the arches† and decorations, something of a very fanciful and luxuriant kind, which is rarely if ever to be detected in the Gothic architecture of Europe, and which, if that architecture were originally oriental, could scarcely fail to abound. Numerous examples of the forms and ornaments to which we allude are supplied by the publications of Swinburne,‡ of Daniel, and of Salt; and the testimony which is

* Ann. 1184, p. 142, (Wat's edition.)

† Such, for instance, as the horse-shoe arch; and the regularly and completely *indented* sides of many of the pointed arches at Benares, and of some at Lucknow.

‡ We would particularly refer to his views of the celebrated palace of Alhambra, in his Travels in Spain.

afforded by the first of them to the truth of the foregoing remarks is much too decisive to be omitted. 'In the buildings,' says Mr. Swinburne, 'which I have had an opportunity of examining in Spain and Sicily, which are undoubtedly Saracenic, I have never been able to discover any thing from which the Gothic ornaments might be supposed to be copied.'*

It may also be observed that pointed arches are well known to have existed in Europe at a period far earlier than that of the first Crusade; to speak only of our own country—the pointed arch appears even in our Roman remains;† it occurs too in Orford Castle, (Suffolk,) and in Chilham Castle, (Kent), buildings which were certainly

* The following opinion, though somewhat too strongly expressed, is surely not destitute of weight.—'But what absolutely decides this question is, the proof brought by Bentham and Grose, that throughout all Syria, Arabia, &c. there is not a Gothic building to be discovered, except such as was raised by the Latin Christians subsequent to the perfection of that style in Europe.'

Milner's Antiquities of Winchester, Vol. II. p. 149.

† Horsley's Britan. Roman. P. 192. N. 5. Fig. xiv. P. 192. No. 67. Fig. iv. P. 192. No. 75. Fig. i.

erected long before the era of the Holy War, and into which there is no good reason for supposing that the pointed arches were inserted at a later time; other instances might easily be adduced: but it may be urged, and the observation is certainly just, that the shape of the arch forms but one feature among the many which characterize the Gothic style; still, however, it forms a prominent feature; and although in the instances which we have been adducing, it is certainly unaccompanied by any genuine Gothic appendages, yet some appendages of that kind appear to have been connected with it, in other parts of Europe, at the beginning, or in the progress of the eleventh century.

It still remains, then, by no means an improbable conjecture, that the Gothic is merely a further but happier corruption of the Roman architecture, which had been previously degenerating from the age of Hadrian and the Antonines: the changes in this declining architecture were of course gradual; and to seek for a precise period and spot in which it first assumed the forms and ornaments denominated Gothic, appears to

be in vain; being freed from the restraint of scientific rules, it must readily have admitted the introduction of any shapes or decorations, which the peculiarities of national taste, or even the caprice of individuals, might be disposed to engraft upon it; while on the other hand, an easy and frequent intercourse between different countries, would ultimately excite the desire, and afford them the means of a mutual imitation.

A compact chronological view of the ancient styles of building in Britain, including an enumeration of the criterion by which the different eras of our Gothic architecture might be accurately determined, has long been a desideratum in this country. A manual of the kind alluded to was planned by Gray and Mason; it has lately been again recommended to attention, and an outline given of the grand divisions which might be conveniently adopted in it.* From some expressions which appeared in an early number of Mr. Britton's *Architectural Antiquities,* we had been led to expect a correct arrangement of his subjects in the order of their dates, a plan of pro-

* Sayer's Disquisitions, p. 167, (2d edit.)

ceeding which would certainly have much promoted the final accomplishment of the work:—our expectations, however, were grievously disappointed; and although we wish not to withhold our unqualified approbation of the execution of the designs and engravings which are contained in Mr. Britton's production, yet we cannot but deem the adjustment of them, (with the exception of his specimens of domestic architecture) to be extremely injudicious and confused. The edifice, with which his series begins, is the priory-church of St. Botolph, a building undoubtedly of great antiquity, but whose era is not satisfactorily determined; from these venerable remains he passes to the priory-church at Dunstable, and to the church of St. Nicholas at Abingdon; he thence proceeds, by a very extraordinary leap, to a delineation and account of King's College Chapel, then measures back his steps to round churches; and after amusing us with a long, though certainly not ill-executed digression upon crosses, he returns to the investigation of our most ancient ecclesiastical structures. Of these, however, he soon becomes again impatient; for, after a perusal of about ten pages of letter-

press, we are astonished by the appearance of 'an Essay towards an History and description of King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster.' In such windings and doublings as these, it is impossible for a reader to collect the slightest notion of the progressive changes of our architecture, and he must rest contented with the gratification which he may be able to extract from the rich and elegant engravings which abundantly adorn the work. As Mr. Britton is receiving a pretty high, and far from an unmerited, encouragement, it is incumbent upon him to do away the fault into which he has so notoriously fallen. The introduction of a chronological table of the buildings already noticed by him would prove exceedingly convenient: by such a table of reference, by publishing together his views and illustrations of them, and by a very careful arrangement of his succeeding engravings in the exact order of the eras of their prototypes, his work would undoubtedly acquire a much higher value than that to which it has at present any pretensions.

[The two following Sermons were found among the manuscripts of Dr. Sayers, in his own hand-writing; and, as a concluding note directs some slight variations from the text of the original copies deposited with those friends for whose use they were severally drawn up, the ultimate publication of them was manifestly intended by him: they are no less valuable, as indicative of the religious persuasions of Dr. Sayers, than as specimens of his eloquence or argument.]

John viii. 23.

Ye are of this world: I am not of this world.

WHEN it first pleased the Almighty Ruler of Heaven and Earth to manifest to mankind a revealed system of faith and morals, and to confirm to them by the most stupendous miracles the certainty of a future state, the high importance of the promises and doctrines which were held out to them, seem to have most powerfully affected their minds, and to have withdrawn them from almost every consideration which was not closely connected with the great object of their hopes

and fears. The Apostles, by the command of their Divine Master, and inspired by the holy Spirit, divested themselves of almost every worldly care, and exposed themselves firmly to every danger, with the view of propagating the faith and of impressing and elucidating the doctrines of Christianity; the venerable fathers of the Church followed in many respects the footsteps of the Apostles, and the early converts to our faith received it with an ardour which cannot be too greatly admired, and prized it above all things which this world presents to us as most dear and captivating; their property, their safety, their comfort, and even the guilty pleasures in which their former religion had indulged them, were sacrificed willingly to their faith in Christ. "They were no longer of the world," "the world was crucified to them and they to the world."

The picture, which we have now been sketching, cannot but be contemplated by us with gratitude and with profit; to the eager exertions of these early propagators of Christianity, exertions no doubt produced and furthered by the energy of the holy Spirit, and the finger of God himself,

to these exertions, I say, we are greatly indebted for a knowledge of those truths on which we rest our dearest hopes as men and as Christians.

When Christianity, my brethren, was thus sown, and had happily taken root in the earth, a sect of men arose at a very early period in the East, whose imaginations, fired by a wild religious enthusiasm, urged them to carry to excess the rules of conduct which had been adopted by the Apostles and the early Christians; not content with considering religion as the *most important* of their concerns, they chose to consider it as their *only* one; they resolved at once to break through every human tie, to separate themselves from all human society, to plunge into deserts, or to hide themselves in caves, and to dedicate their lives in these wild and solitary scenes to the constant and fervid contemplation of God and immortality. From this spirit, afterwards somewhat modified, religious societies arose; the Western Christians caught the infection, and in the course of a few centuries all Christendom was thronged with religious devotees, both male and female, who pretended to renounce the world

and all its concerns, and to dedicate themselves to God alone. I would not deny that the principle upon which many of these societies were formed was honest and pure; I would not deny that, though the doctrines which they had embraced were in many respects corrupt, much knowledge, both human and divine, was communicated or preserved by their intervention; and had their opinions and ceremonies been purified, and the rules of their order obeyed with precision, some of them might at least have been tolerated if not admired.

No doubt however can be entertained of their having originally arisen, in part from the indulgence of an ardent imagination, and in part perhaps from a too literal interpretation of certain texts of scripture. The conduct too which they had adopted was by no means closely imitated from that of their Master and his disciples; to mix with the world without being contaminated by it; to mix with the world from the motives of instructing, reforming, and rendering it happy; to mix with the world with a view of exercising in it those social virtues which are so

warmly inculcated by Christianity; this, I say, was the conduct which was authorised and enforced by reason, by scripture, and by the highest example.

Soon was it discovered that the efforts made by the votaries of Enthusiasm were of very little avail; their conduct little corresponded with their professions; their boast of superior sanctity became but too often a pretence for the establishment of unjust power, or the collection of exorbitant wealth; so far from really renouncing the world, they seemed almost to have ruled it; and though doubtless many pious, virtuous, and learned individuals have arisen among them, yet the greater part of them were notoriously addicted to the gratification of voluptuous appetites, or to the aggrandisement of their favourite society.

Little then, my brethren, is to be expected from any attempt to break the golden chain by which man is bound to man; such an attempt is neither sanctioned by Nature nor Religion. We are to study not how to desert the station in which the Providence of God has placed us, but how to perform our part in it; we have in his holy Revela-

tion unerring laws for our conduct, and it is equally our duty and our interest to yield to them a steady obedience.

But, my brethren, if the error which I have now been pointing out to you in the Enthusiasts of early times, was that of an excessive fear or hatred of the world, it must be confessed that the error of the present times is of a very different complexion; with us the power of the world is far, very far, too great; the opinions of society, the decrees of honour, nay even the contemptible voice of fashion itself, have, I fear, but too frequently an influence over our minds, against which Religion struggles in vain. Let us look around us. Let us ask each other if we have not, on some occasions, feared the censure of man more than the displeasure of our Maker? Let us ask the duellist, the adulterer, and the seducer, if disgrace, and expulsion from society, would not have deterred him from crimes which were to him vainly condemned in the holy book of our Law? Let us ask our own consciences, if the fear of the contempt or desertion of the world, or if the desire of its applause, has never been the

motive of even our meritorious conduct. This, my brethren, is not religion ; in some respects indeed the opinions of society may coincide with the precepts of Christianity ; but it is the *motive* which makes the *virtue* : and if any laudable action is performed with a view to the favour of man, we are taught, by the highest authority, that it is from man and not from God that we must look for our reward. When, on the other hand, a sacrifice is deliberately made to the world of our religion or our morality, the consequences cannot but be known to you, and cannot but be highly alarming. If the sentiments of the world are to guide us instead of the Revelation of God, our pretences to religion and to Christianity are evidently vain, and when that awful hour shall arrive in which a true and severe account shall be rendered of our deeds, the motives from which the best of them have arisen, if performed only with a view to man's favour, will preclude us from aspiring to that recompense which the Gospel promises to those who shall act from a regard to religion and to God. Besides, my brethren, the great influence exerted over us by the *opinions*

of the world, I cannot but fear that its pleasures and its cares also interest us very often too deeply. I have already censured that absurd enthusiasm which drove man from society, but an excessive interest in the affairs of this life is a no less deplorable evil. An honest industry to provide for the necessities of ourselves and our families is undoubtedly laudable; while we are to live in this world it is plain that we may lawfully labour to procure to ourselves, with God's blessing, the means of living, and of living with decency and comfort. "God first assigned Adam," says the great Hooker, "maintenance of life, and then appointed him a law to observe. True it is that the kingdom of God must be the first thing in our purposes and desires; but inasmuch as a righteous life presupposes life, inasmuch as to live virtuously it is impossible, except we live; therefore the first impediment which naturally we endeavour to remove is penury, and want of things without which we cannot live."

But although both reason and scripture admit a just and moderate concern for the affairs of life, yet how groveling, how contracted must the mind

of that man be, who directs *all* his efforts, who rivets *all* his attentions to the concerns of a few fleeting years: how base, nay how wicked, thus to throw aside the interests of eternity, and to labour only for that which passeth away as a shadow.

Let us then, my brethren, ere it be too late, deeply engrave upon our minds a just value of this life, and of that which is to come. Let us consider the world as a scene of action, of little value in itself but in as much as it affords us the means, through the great goodness and mercy of God, of preparing ourselves for a state of the highest bliss and exaltation; let us consider this future state of existence as our lodestar and our final home; situated in a peculiar station by the wisdom of God, let us earnestly endeavour to make our hours of trial successful; let us omit no office of affection, of benevolence, or of duty; let us love the world for the sake of Him who created it, but let us so love it as loving God better; let us be careful to keep in subjection to the purposes of Religion all our pleasures and all our cares; let us turn away with contempt from the audacity

of those worldly decrees which dare to contradict the eternal laws of Revelation, and let us, by doing all things here with a view to obtain the favour of our Maker, prepare our souls for that superior and eternal state of being in which "God shall be all in all."

April, 1804.

A VISITATION SERMON.

I. Corinthians 1, x.

Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.

SOME centuries have now elapsed since the violent and capricious attacks which were made by an imperious monarch on the corrupt religion of our country, terminated, under his mild and virtuous successor, in the establishment of the Church of England; a church faithfully and laboriously purged from the erroneous tenets of Popery, and equally removed from the foppery of superstition on the one hand, and from the in-

decorum of fanaticism on the other. In establishing our national Church, it was the acknowledged and pious wish of its founders to render it as comprehensive as possible, and the Articles of Faith on which it was erected were certainly constructed with so much skill and caution, that few, except those who were still infected by the errors of Popery, could find in them aught to condemn. The wise and indulgent spirit, however, by which the Reformers were actuated in the performance of their important task, has been attended by consequences which their candour could not foresee; from avoiding a full investigation of some nicer and more mysterious points of doctrine, and from consequently omitting to insert peremptory decrees respecting them in all their bearings, the Fathers of our Church unintentionally opened a source of controversy, which has continued, with increased or diminished vehemence, to the present time.

At the accession of Elizabeth to the crown of England, many divines of our Church, who had fled, from the persecution of Mary, to safe retreats upon the Continent, returned to their homes, and

brought with them the doctrines of Calvin. Some few of those who had remained in England appear to have been inclined to opinions of a similar stamp. This body of men would gladly have found in the Articles of our Established Church a decided corroboration of the tenets which they had adopted; but their hope was by no means gratified, for although those articles did not expressly enumerate and condemn the *peculiarities of Calvinism,* they certainly afforded them no sanction; and how, indeed, could it ever have been expected that a system of Faith, corresponding with a liturgy which had received the marked disapprobation of Calvin himself, should be found replenished with the doctrines of his followers? The Calvinistic Divines, however, were not easily deterred from their favourite object; finding among our Articles some which may be deemed to agree in *part* with the opinions which they cherished, they endeavoured to rear upon them such a super-structure as was most desirable to themselves. To enter at large into the controversies of this period would far exceed the limits prescribed to this discourse; I cannot,

however, avoid observing, that the question of predestination was agitated with peculiar warmth, and that after a variety of debates on this subject, Archbishop Whitgift was induced to admit, in the Lambeth Articles, a Calvinistic interpretation of the doctrine of our Church on that point. But the triumph of the Calvinistic Divines, on this occasion, was but of short duration ; the Lambeth Articles were speedily quashed, and the formers of them were severely censured and threatened by Elizabeth, who was anxious to check this theological war, and to preserve an unstraitened interpretation of Articles which had been composed with the most laboured liberality. The wise policy of Elizabeth was prudently adopted by her successor, and by his unfortunate son. During the reign of the latter, controversial preaching was strictly prohibited and strenuously discouraged by the Court. It was however discouraged in vain ; unhappily divisions in opinion still prevailed, and afforded no slight assistance to that infuriate band, who rested not till they had gratified their wild and wicked ambition by subverting both the Church and the Throne.

"While our Divines," says an intelligent eye-witness of that time, "argued amongst themselves about those abstruse questions of Predestination, Free-will, Free-grace, &c. and some followed Calvin and Beza, and others Melancthon and Castalio, the sly anti-episcopal Presbyterian, under the disguise of great lowlines, and admitting into his society any sect, gained opportunities to overthrow both the forementioned Canonical Disputers.*

Such was the baneful effect of these theological controversies at the melancholy period which I have now been mentioning; and it was surely to have been hoped that the lesson which was then taught to us would have silenced them for ever.

That this is far from being the case is a fact too well known to us all. We do not yet "speak the same thing;" we are not yet "joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." A certain class of our Divines are still eagerly, and almost exclusively, occupied in propagating their favourite interpretation of those

* Warwick's Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. p. 85.

Articles of our faith which touch upon the most abstruse and mysterious topics. Uninfluenced by the modesty and humility of those who raised the fabric of our Church, they boldly rush forward into those paths of subtile speculation, which their venerable, learned, and pious masters feared to tread. I am far from being disposed to deny the integrity and acquirements of many of that class, who are denominated (I trust, not by *themselves*) the Evangelical Clergy; but I confess I am at a loss to discover either the propriety or the utility of their assuming to themselves the right of dogmatically issuing their decrees respecting those obscurer points of faith which are cautiously touched in our Articles, and concerning which the ablest and wisest of our divines have united in no common opinion; still less can I approve that asperity with which they are too apt to censure those who yield to reasonings and authorities unfavourable to the Calvinistic scheme, or who are unwilling to pronounce with audacity where the Articles are wisely silent.

It can hardly be supposed, I trust, that in thus endeavouring to point out the inexpediency of a

laboured diffusion of tenets, which, to say the least of them, are of very dubious proof, I should wish to confine my own exhortations, or those of my brethren, to the mere inculcation of Christian morality; far from it; I cannot but be aware that the *doctrines*, as well as the *duties*, of Christianity, have an undoubted claim to our attention, and we should ill discharge the awful task which is imposed upon us, were we not earnestly to impress and to explain those grand and essential features of our belief which are fully and clearly stated in our Articles, our Liturgy, and our Creeds. I only argue against proceeding further; I only argue against arrogantly teaching, in the name of our Church, those doctrines which the whole Church does not acknowledge; I only argue against torturing the judicious and comprehensive Articles of our belief into proofs of opinions which more than one half of our most skilful divines have held to be erroneous.

It may not be improper to give a specimen of the mode of proceeding too frequently adopted by the Evangelical Clergy, and which I am here venturing to condemn. It is undoubtedly to be

gathered both from Scripture and from the Articles of our Church,* that man is by nature a weak and sinful being, and that we can only be saved from evil, and ledde into good by the Grace of the Almighty, and by his merciful influence on our heart and life; we are also further taught,† that this Divine favour will be extended to those whom God "in his everlasting purposes, has constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from that curse and damnation," to which so frail and erring a being as man is necessarily exposed; but the inference of an *arbitrary and absolute predestination* of millions to eternal misery, which is engrafted by the stern Calvinist on the Articles to which I have alluded, is a doctrine undoubtedly passed over in *total silence* by the mild spirit of our Reformers. Still, however, this inference is boldly inculcated by the Evangelical Divine as arising from the Articles above mentioned. Can such a representation be deemed either candid or accurate? It will be no reply to me to urge that the Evangelical teacher pro-

* Articles IX. X. † Article XVII.

fesses to be able to prove by Scriptural authority, the truth of that doctrine which I accuse him of having added to our faith. This is not the point in question. He boasts of being the Abdiel of the Church of England, he boasts of teaching *only* what her Articles dictate. Does he teach it in the instance of which I have now been speaking?

With respect to Faith, again, the Articles of our Church undoubtedly accord with Scripture in asserting that this Christian virtue is essential to salvation;* but neither the Scripture, nor our Articles, assert that Faith *without works* is of any avail: "Had I *all* Faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have no Charity, I am nothing."† Whence then do our Evangelical brethren collect that Faith is to be so *exclusively* inculcated, and the practice of our Christian duties to be so feebly enforced, or rather so utterly neglected? Whence do they collect that they are so imperiously called upon to teach only a *part* of our Religion, only a *part* of those qualities which are necessary to our everlasting welfare? Let me

* Article XI. † 1 Corinth. xiii. 2.

not be told in reply, that the Faith which they so strenuously inculcate *includes works.* If I urged to them, that in preaching good works I *included Faith,* they would have little patience with such mysterious jargon. Faith and works are clearly distinguished both in Scripture,* and in our Articles,† and although the latter certainly affirm (and doubtless agreeably to the former) that we are not justified by works but by Faith,‡ yet they assert, no less explicitly, §that good works are the fruit by which the tree is to be known, and that they are the decisive criteria of the efficacy and vitality of Faith—"But wilt thou know, O vain man, that Faith without works is dead?"‖ To expatiate then *exclusively* either upon Doctrine or upon Morality, is surely yielding obedience neither to the spirit nor to the letter of our ordinances of Religion.

It is not necessary to dilate further on this topic. I am chiefly anxious to shew the impropriety of attempting to extract from our Articles

* James ii. 8. † Articles XII. XIII. ‡ Article XI.
§ Article XII. ‖ James ii. 20.

an assent to any of those dubious points of theology which the formers of those Articles purposely left undefined, from the wish that such as might entertain no common opinion respecting them, might not be deterred, on that account, from entering the pale of our Church. On this ground then, I say, I cannot but deem it arrogant for any individual, however wise and learned, to obtrude upon others his favourite interpretation of obscure points in our Articles, as the only genuine, certain, and irrefragable explanation of her doctrines.

From this source great strife has undoubtedly arisen within our borders, which it is my earnest wish to see for ever at rest. "The war of the Church," says one of the most eloquent of our Prelates,* "is the peace of Heretics, our discord is their musick, our ruine their glory; oh! what a sight is this! Brethren strive, while the enemy stands still and laughs and triumphs. If we desired the grief of our common mother, the languishing of the Gospell, the extirpation of Re-

* Hall's Works, vol. i. p. 413.

ligion, the losse of posterity, the advantage of our adversaries, which way could these be better effected than by our dissentions."

It clearly behoves us then to lay aside our disputes on those subjects which the wisdom of Providence has enwrapped in mystery, and to expatiate upon such as have been mercifully placed before us in unclouded lustre. If, however, we *must* contend, let us contend only in the strenuous discharge of our duty ; let us insist with earnestness both upon the doctrines and morals of Christianity ; let us insist on Faith, but let us not omit good works ; let us not omit Charity, which is the fountain of them all. "Charity," says a distinguished writer,* "is the chiefest of all Christian virtues, without which all the rest signify nothing, for *Faith* and *Hope* can only bring us on our way to the confines of this world, but *Charity* is not only our convoy to Heaven, but engaged to stay with us there for ever."

March, 1807.

* Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. ii. p. 470.

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